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Russel H. Betts

Research Program on Problems of International Communications and Security

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
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CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS

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INTRODUCTION

This report is a summation of data derived from a survey of the available literature describing the mass media communications structure of Malaya and Singapore as of late 1965. This date has been specifically chosen as the cut-off point for two reasons: (1) on August 9, 1965, Singapore seceded from the Federation of Malaysia and began to set its own course as an independent nation, thus substantively altering -- but in ways which are not yet fully clear -- the nature of the evolution of the mass media structures of the two states, which prior to that time were fairly closely integrated and were becoming more so, and (2) post-August 1965 data are still so sparse as to make any meaningful survey of them nearly impossible.

This report is presented as a COMCOM project report in working draft form, and should not be considered as an exhaustive or authoritative description of its subject matter. Even the available pre-August 1965 data frequently have been incomplete and/or contradictory, and in many cases figures which are presented represent best guesstimates rather than definitive fact. Moreover, this data covers a time span of nearly a decade (1957-1965 -- although in one or two instances it has been necessary to go back as far as 1947 for data) and within the context of rapidly developing and changing societies, such as Malaya and Singapore, the extrapolations which are necessary to get any type of consistent time fix can potentially mislead more than they inform.

It is hoped that some of the inevitably resulting shortcomings might be rectified and that the data might be updated as a result of a year's period of field research in Singapore which the author will soon begin under auspices other than those for which this draft has been written. This draft has been researched and written by Mr. Russell Betts, whose hope it is that what follows will be read and accepted in the spirit of the caveats outlined above.

CHAPTER I: DEMOGRAPHIC AND OTHER BACKGROUND DATA

The distinction between Malaya and Malaysia must be made clear at the outset. The Federation of Malaysia is the political entity which was created on September 16, 1963, through the merger of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak. When Singapore seceded on August 9, 1965, Malaysia continued to exist as a federation of the other three components states. Thus, Malaya and Malaysia are not interchangeable terms. Malaya continues to exist as one of the three components of Malaysia; the other two, Sabah and Sarawak, are on the island of Borneo, some 400-1000 miles to the east across the South China Sea. Malaya consists of the eleven states of the Malay peninsula, immediately to the south of which lies the small island of Singapore. This distinction is important in the present context due to the fact that the media structures which will be described constitute only two segments, although far and away the most important ones in terms of magnitude, scope, and development, of the mass media structure of what prior to August 9, 1965 was the Federation of Malaysia. The mass media of Sarawak and Sabah evolved separately from those of Malaya and Singapore, as well as from each other, and as a consequence will not be considered here.

Geography

Malaya's territorial area might be grossly divided into three regions. The western seacoast and plains regions contain most of the major cities and population, as well as most of the industry and agriculture. Approximately 75 percent of the population lives in this region. It is the most highly developed section of the country, and is the area in which all of the communications systems, including the mass media, were first established and where they continue to be largely concentrated. The central region, which contains at least 50 percent of Malaya's land area, is mountainous jungle and for the most part is uninhabited. The few people who live in this region are mostly aborigines, and with the limited exception of the dictates of the Malayan communist insurgency, have until recently been beyond the concern of mass media coverage. This mountainous jungle region has long served as an

effective barrier to adequate communication between the eastern and western sections of the country. Partially because of this, the eastern region of Malaya, which is commonly referred to as the East Coast, remains comparatively underdeveloped. Communications traditionally have been poor, trading and other economic enterprises have been neglected, and agriculture has remained at subsistence levels due largely to poor soil conditions. This region has been receiving increasing attention during recent years, however, and is slowly being integrated into the more advanced western region.

Singapore Island lies immediately across the narrow Straits of Johore from Malaya's southern-most state, Johore Bahru. Its land area of 225 square miles supports approximately two million people; consequently it is highly urbanized. The bulk of Singapore's population is concentrated in the immediate environs of Singapore city proper and along the main transportation routes, although by 1965 a significant move toward decentralization was in process. This included the giant housing development projects the government was undertaking on the outer perimeters of the city as well as the new industrial satellite town, Jurong, which was in the process of development in the western section of the island. In addition to Singapore city proper and Jurong, there were perhaps four nodal population centers on the island, although each of these was highly dependent on Singapore city. Singapore's high urbanization ratio is reflected in the fact that in early 1966, only 3.5 percent of the actively employed population of Singapore were engaged in agricultural pursuits, forestry, hunting, or fishing activities.[1]

The following maps show the administrative states of Malaya and the general population distribution within that country as of 1957.

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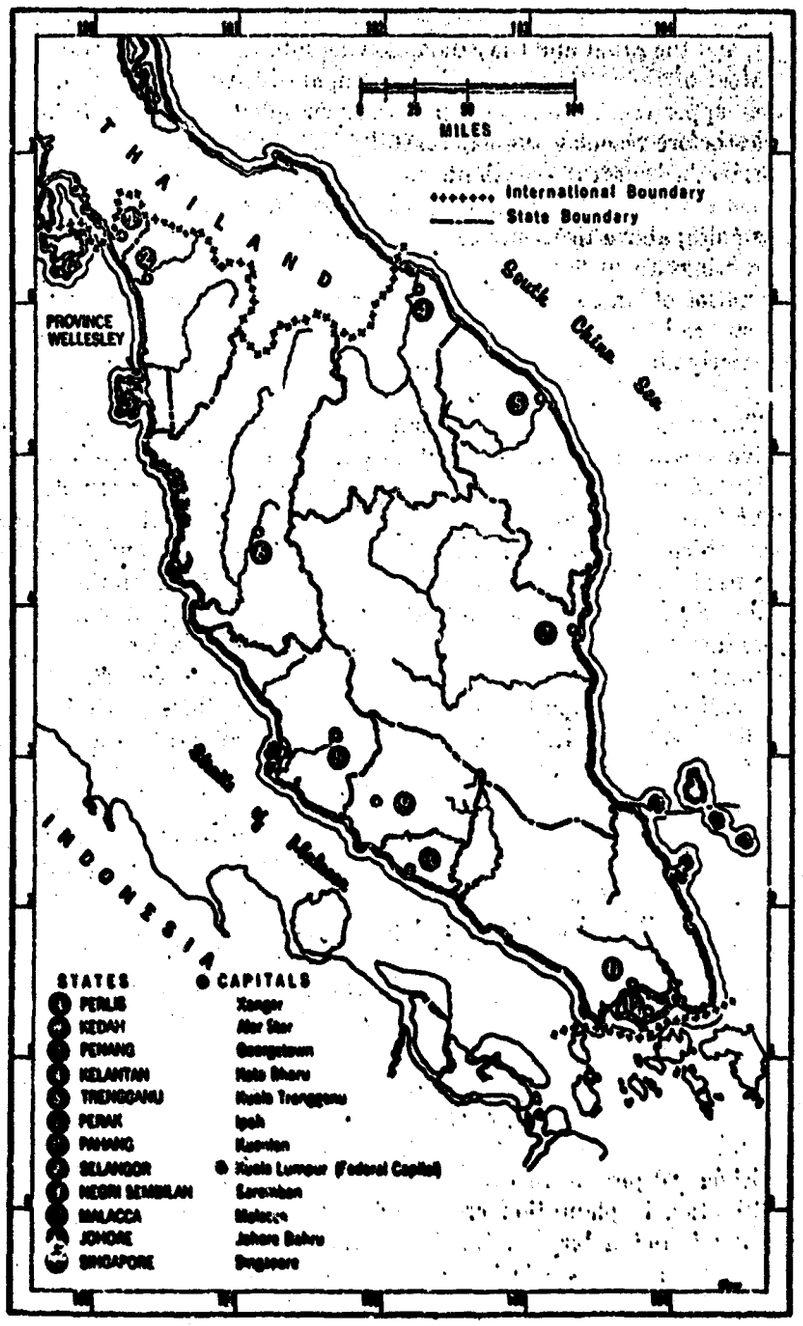
[1] You Poh Seng, "The Population of Singapore, 1966: Demographic Structure, Social and Economic Characteristics," Malayan Economic Review, XII (October 1967), p. 91.

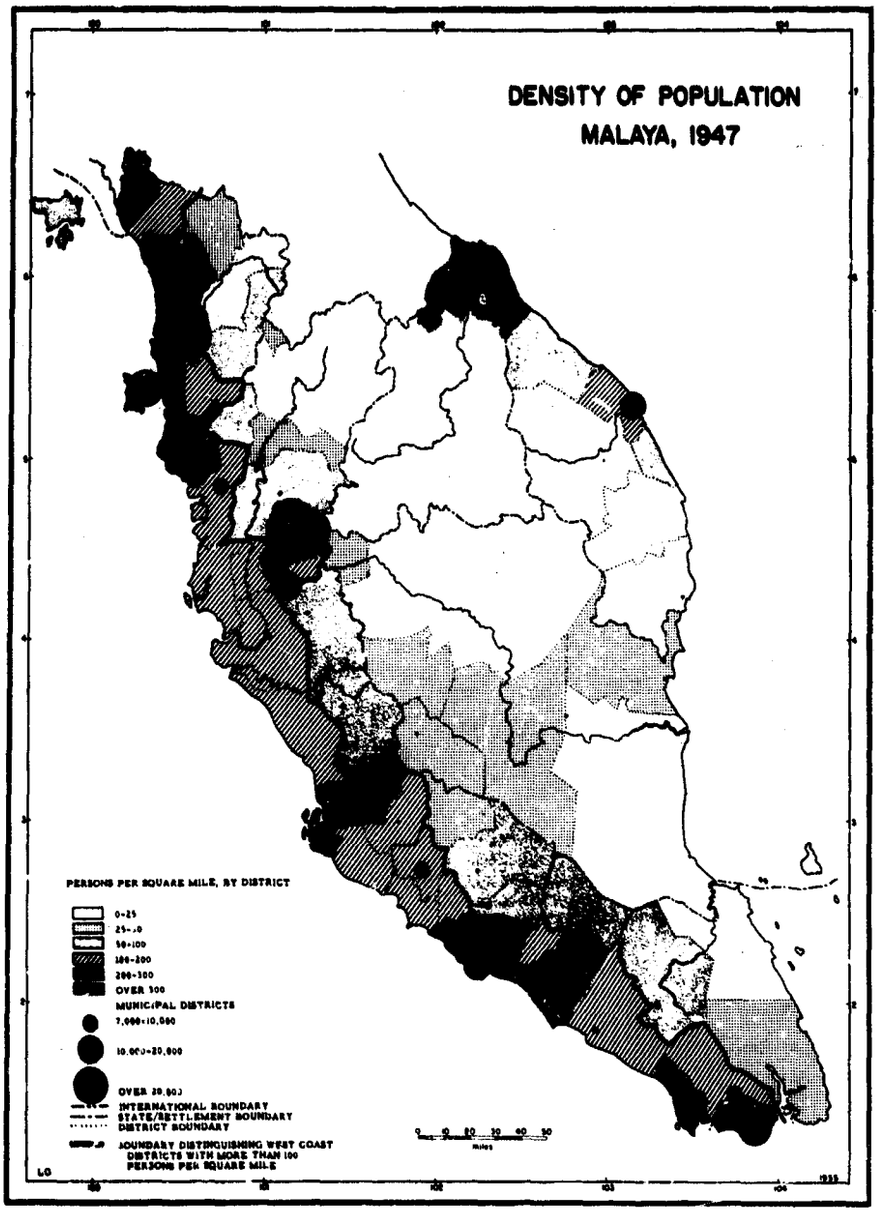
MAP I-1

Administrative States of Malaya, with Singapore included



MAP I-2

Density of Population, Malaya, 1947[2]



Map 2

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[2] Norton Ginsburg, Malaya, American Ethnological Series (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), p. 49.

Race

Perhaps the most important demographic variable to be considered in any investigation of Malay and Singapore is their unique racial structures. History has created a situation in Malaya where no racial group is in the majority, but rather where Malays, Chinese, and Indians all constitute significant portions of the population. Accurate current statistics on population proportions or distributions in Malaya do not exist due to the fact that no census has been taken since 1957. At that time, however, 49.8 percent of the population was Malay, 37.2 percent was Chinese, and 11.0 percent was Indian. Many unofficial projections from that date assume that the Chinese population has grown much faster than the others,[3] but the official position is that the rates of growth are the same for all groups, and these percentages therefore have remained constant since 1957.[4] Singapore, on the other hand, is predominantly a Chinese city-state. In early 1966, for example, the population breakdown was estimated at 12.1 percent Malay, 78.7 percent Chinese, and 6.6 percent Indian.[5] These facts affect everything that happens in Malaya and Singapore to such a significant degree that they can be termed causal variables in the modern history of the area. Their implications, for example, played a crucial role in the formation of the Federation of Malaysia as well as in the subsequent succession of Singapore from that Federation. The life blood of the Malayan political system has been its communal structure, the entire social structure of the country has communal underpinnings, and the economy is based largely on racial specialization. Similarly,

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[3] Estimates and projections for 1964-1965 range from a 48:38 percentage ratio favoring the Malays to an equal 43:43 percentage ratio distribution. For the latter, see Bela C. Maday, et. al. Area Handbook for Malaysia and Singapore (Washington: Government Printing Office, July, 1965), hereafter referred to as Asia Handbook..., p. 73. "The Chinese...have increased their proportions rapidly, and by 1965 are estimated to almost equal the Malays in Malaya."

[4] It is commonly hypothesized that one of the main reasons no census has been taken since 1957, although at one point one was scheduled for 1967, is that the government fears that accurate figures on the numbers of Chinese and Malays in the country would serve to upset the political structure.

[5] You Poh Seng, "The Population of Singapore, 1966...," Loc. Cit., p. 64.

the inescapable fact that Singapore is a Chinese city in a predominantly Malay region of the world has played an inestimably significant role in that city's development and evolution. As one case in point for both Malaya and Singapore, the mass media structures of both areas reflect the dictates of such racial realities in nearly all of their operations. In fact, the unique mass media structures which exist in Malaya and Singapore can be said to have developed largely as a direct response and accommodation to the racially based nature of the region's societal structure.

A number of generalizations can be suggested about the distribution of the various races in Malaya and Singapore. The Chinese, for example, are predominantly urban. In Malaya approximately 73 percent live in towns and cities, and the bulk of the population in virtually all Malayan towns is Chinese. Most of the remaining Chinese live in settlements in the tin and rubber producing areas of the country or operate market gardens close to the urban areas. The Indian population on the other hand splits fairly evenly between those who are urban concentrated and those inhabiting rural areas. The urban-oriented segment of the Indian population tends to be concentrated in or around such major urban areas as Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Ipoh; most of the others are associated with rubber cultivation and the estate economy. The Malays, in contrast, are predominantly rural. They inhabit the agricultural coastal regions and the small-holding areas, and have a clear predominance in all rice land both in the lowland and in the foothills leading to the interior. In those places where they do cluster in groups, their major unit of settlement is the kampong (Malay village), not the town.[6] Although urbanization is beginning to draw more of the Malay population into urban society, in 1965 this had not yet become a significant movement.[7] It is interesting to note, as a sidelight, that the growth of cities in Malaya has been the result not of local rural to urban migration, but rather of immigration from outside the country, notably from China and India.[8] These distinctions are

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[6] Area Handbook..., p. 27.

[7] James F. Guyot, "Creeping Urbanism and Political Development in Malaysia," unpublished paper prepared at the Comparative Urban Studies Group Summer Seminar, Chapel Hill, 1967.

[8] K. J. Ratnam, Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965), p. 2.

reflected in the following two tables and map which respectively show urban concentrations by race, and population distributions by state and race.

It would serve no useful purpose in the context of this report to subdivide Singapore into its component administrative and statistical units. It should only be mentioned that the population distribution tendencies noted for Malaya hold equally, only on a much more compressed scale, for Singapore; the Chinese majority tends to concentrate around the immediate environs of Singapore city proper while the Malays are somewhat more dispersed throughout the relatively less densely populated outlying areas. By 1965 the government had begun attempting to assimilate these comparatively rural elements more fully into the Singapore community through its decentralization and public housing programs, but progress promised to be slow. The more relevant consideration for this report on mass media structures is that Singapore is a compact, relatively urbanized city state in which direct access to the mass media is at least theoretically nearly equally available to all inhabitants.

TABLE I-1

Urban Concentration by Race: Malaya 1957 [11]

	TOTAL	MALAY	CHINESE	INDIAN	OTHER
Urban	2,670,000	600,000	1,700,000	290,000	n.a.
Percent	42.5	19.3	73.0	41.7	
Rural	3,608,800	2,526,700	632,900	506,000	n.a.
Percent	57.5	80.7	27.0	58.3	
TOTAL	6,278,800	3,126,700	2,332,900	696,000	123,200
Percent of Total	100	49.8	37.2	11.0	2.0

[11] Derived from Malaya Census, 1957, Table 2.7, p. 9. Urban is used here, in conformity with Malayan practice, to refer to gazetted concentrations of 1,000 or more people.

TABLE I-2

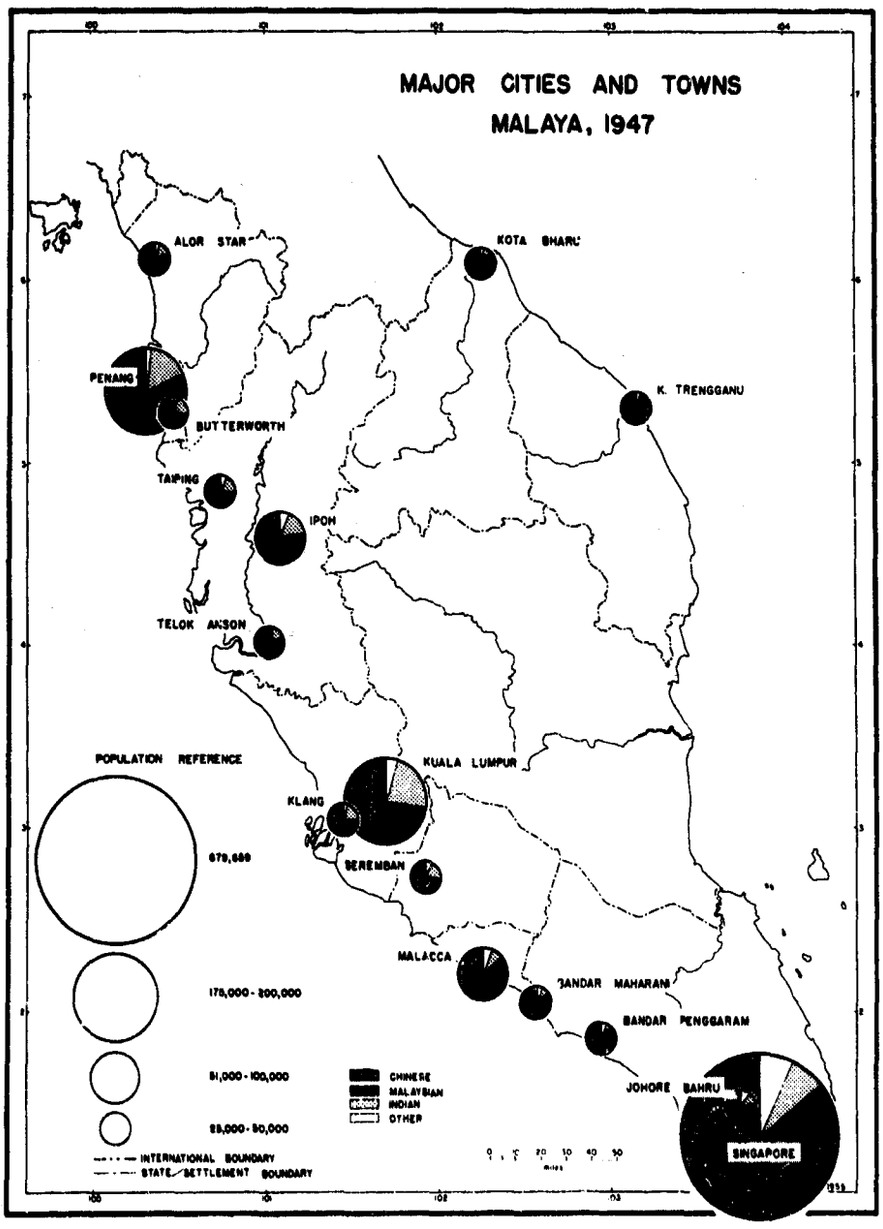
Population by State and Race: Malaya & Singapore, 1957.[9]
(in thousands)

State	Total All Races	Malay	%	Chinese	%	Indian	%	Other	%
Perlis	90.9	71.3	78.5	15.8	17.4	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.4
Kedah	701.7	475.8	67.8	143.8	20.5	67.0	9.5	15.1	2.2
Penang	572.1	165.1	29.0	327.3	57.0	69.0	12.1	10.7	1.9
Kelantan	505.6	463.3	91.6	28.8	5.7	5.7	1.1	7.8	1.6
Trenggaru	278.2	256.3	92.0	18.1	6.5	2.8	1.0	1.0	0.5
Perak	1221.4	484.9	39.5	539.4	44.0	178.4	14.6	18.7	1.9
Pahang	312.9	179.1	57.0	108.1	34.5	21.8	7.0	3.9	1.5
Selangor	1012.9	291.4	28.7	488.6	48.3	201.1	19.9	31.8	3.1
Negri Sembilan	364.3	151.4	41.6	149.9	41.1	54.4	14.9	8.6	2.4
Malacca	291.2	143.2	49.0	120.7	41.5	23.3	8.0	4.0	1.5
Johore	927.6	444.9	48.0	392.4	42.2	71.0	7.7	19.3	2.1
Total, Federation of Malaya	6278.8	3126.7	49.8	2332.9	37.2	696.0	11.0	123.2	2.0
Singapore									
(a) 1957 census	1445.9	197.1	13.6	1090.5	75.5	124.1	8.6	34.2	2.3
(b) 1966 estimates	929.7	234.0	12.1	1519.2	78.7	128.5	6.6	48.3	2.5

[9] Malaya, see Federation of Malaya, 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya, Report No. 14 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office, 1960), Tables 1.4 and 1.5, pp. 3-4, and Table 1, pp. 55-56, hereafter referred to as Malaya Census, 1957; for Singapore in 1957, see State of Singapore, Report on the Census of Population, 1957 (Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1964), Table 9.1, p. 43, hereafter referred to as Singapore Census, 1957; and for Singapore in 1966, see Ministry of National Development and Economic Research Centre, University of Singapore, Sample Household Survey, 1966, (Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1967), Table (1)a, hereafter referred to as Sample Household Survey, 1966.

MAP I-3

Major Cities and Towns: Malaya, 1947 [10]



Map 10

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[10] Norton Ginsburg, Malaya, p. 91.

Economy

Throughout Malaya and Singapore the Chinese, when compared to the other population groups, appear to be the most versatile occupationally and to dominate many of the more dynamic areas of the region's economic development. Despite their predominantly urban concentration, the Chinese are not necessarily solely engaged in urban centered economic activities; for example, "nearly half the [economically active] Chinese in Malaya ... are in such primary production fields as rubber growing on small estates, market gardening, or tin mining." Not only are they in agriculture and commerce, but they are also described as supplying "most of the artisans for industry and large proportions of the clerks and technicians ...".[12] The Malays, on the other hand, are typically rice or subsistence farmers and fishermen; if they enter more economically active or urban occupations they generally "prefer to work inside organizations that offer protection in return for service, such as the police, the civil service or the army."[13]

Given such economic predilections, it is not surprising that significant differences exist with regard to income distribution among the various racial groups. The Chinese households in Malaya generally have the greatest average monthly income, regardless of whether they are urban or rural, and the Malay households have the smallest average monthly income. While over 75 percent of the rural Malays had monthly incomes of less than U.S. $50 in 1958, only 33 percent of the rural Chinese and 29.5 percent of the rural Indians fell into this category. Similarly, while over 15 percent of all urban Chinese had monthly incomes of more than U.S. $150, only 10.8 percent of the Indians and 9.5 percent of the Malays fell into this category. These and many other facets of the income distribution of Malay, Chinese, and Indian households in rural and urban areas of Malaya in 1958 are shown in the following table.

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[12] Justus M. Van der Kroef, Communism in Malaysia & Singapore: A Contemporary Survey (Nij ff: The Hague, 1967), p. 4.

[13] K. G. Tregonning, Malaysia (Vancouver, 1965), p. 6.

TABLE I-3

Household Income Distribution, Urban and Rural Areas by Race:

Malaya, 1957-1958[14]
(percentage of relevant group)

Monthly Income (Malay $)	All House-holds	Malay Households		Chinese Households		Indian Households	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Up to 50	5.0	9.0	2.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	2.5
50 to 100	2[illegible] 0	35.0	8.0	6.0	6.5	6.0	14.5
100 to 150	23.5	31.0	23.0	16.5	16.5	22.5	27.0
150 to 200	16.5	12.3	20.0	19.5	17.5	24.8	15.8
200 to 250	11.8	7.2	15.0	16.3	14.0	20.5	10.7
250 to 300	6.7	2.5	10.0	11.7	10.0	10.2	6.5
300 to 350	4.5	0.8	7.0	9.0	8.2	6.0	4.7
350 to 400	3.0	0.6	4.0	4.3	5.8	3.3	3.6
400 to 450	2.0	0.4	2.5	3.5	4.8	1.7	2.9
450 to 500	0.8	0.3	2.3	2.8	2.9	1.0	2.4
500 to 550	1.2	0.2	1.8	2.4	2.3	0.7	2.0
550 to 600	1.0	0.2	1.7	1.3	1.?	0.5	1.7
600 to 650	0.8	0.2	1.3	1.2	1.6	0.5	1.4
650 to 700	0.7	0.2	1.2	0.7	1.3	0.5	1.0
700 to 750	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.2	0.4	0.8
750 to 800	0.3	---	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.3	0.5
800 to 900	0.5	---	0.2	0.9	1.7	0.1	0.6
900 to 1000	0.2	---	---	0.8	1.3	---	0.4

[14]Department of Statistics, Federation of Malaya, Household Budget Survey of the Federation of Malaya, 1957-1958 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 39.

Comparable data on the household income distribution by race in Singapore unfortunately are not available to the author at this time. It is well known, however, that Singapore is considerably richer on an overall per capita basis than is Malaya. For example, whereas the annual income averaged over the entire population in Malaya in 1964 was approximately U.S. $285, in Singapore it was in excess of U.S. $450. For the purposes of this report it would seem safe as a first approximation to assume that proportional income distribution among the various races would not differ in any really significant way from that of the urban sector in Malaya.

Age Distribution

As is immediately obvious from the following table, the populations of Malaya and Singapore are extremely young; in both areas approximately 55 percent of the inhabitants are under the age of 19 years, and nearly 85 percent are under 45 years.

TABLE I-4

Age Distribution of Population: Malaya 1957, and Singapore 1964.

	Malaya[15]		Singapore[16]	
Age Group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 - 9	1,971,700	31.4	566,600	29.4
10 - 19	1,392,500	22.2	489,300	25.4
20 - 44	1,964,300	31.3	570,100	29.6
45 - 59	660,500	10.5	199,700	10.3
60 - over	289,800	4.6	103,100	5.3
TOTAL	6,278,800	100.0	1,928,800	100.0

[15] Calculated from Malaysia, Official Year Book, 1964 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1966), Table f., p. 667. Hereafter all Malaya and Singapore Year Books will be referred to by simple title and year. (E.g. Malaysia Year Book, 1964.)

[16] You Poh Seng and Stephen H.K. Yeh, "The Sample Household Survey of Singapore, 1966," Malayan Economic Review, XII (April, 1967), p. 62.

It is of particular interest in this regard to note that at least in Singapore there appear to be significant differences in the age profiles of the various racial communities. Over 60 percent of Singapore's Malay community is under the age of 19, for example, while less than 53 percent of the Indian community and less than 55 percent of the Chinese community falls into this category. These data are summarized in the following table. Comparable estimates for Malaya are not currently available.

TABLE I-5

Age Distribution of Population by Race: Singapore, 1966[17]
(percentage of relevant group)

Age Group	Total Population	Malaya	Chinese	Indian	Other
0 - 9	29.4	37.0	28.2	30.1	30.1
10 - 19	25.4	23.6	26.2	22.4	15.4
20 - 44	29.6	28.1	29.1	32.2	42.5
45 - 59	10.3	8.0	10.6	12.4	8.4
60 - over	5.3	3.1	5.9	7.9	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number)	(1,929,800)	(234,000)	(1,519,220)	(128,300)	(48,300)

Sex and Household Size Distribution

Significant differences exist among the three main ethnic groups with regard to sex ratios. These are reflected in the following table, which quite clearly suggests the possibility for differences in family structure and household size among the three groups which will subsequently be illustrated.

These variations in sex ratios are largely a reflection of the immigrant origin of the Chinese and, much more so in recent times, Indian communities. Historically both of these communities came to the Malayan region as economic entrepreneurs or fortune seekers, and the early movements

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[17] Sample Household Survey, 1966..., Tables P.3 and P.3(a).

TABLE I-6

Number of Females per 1000 Males: Malaya and Singapore, 1957 and 1963

	Malaya	Singapore	
	1957 [18]	1957 [19]	1963 [20]
Malaya	1013	908	980
Chinese	926	962	991
Indians	746	443	685
Total Population	937	896	966

were overwhelmingly male phenomena. The Chinese began bringing their women with them (or sending for them after their own arrival) several decades ago and new immigration from China has been cut off for more than 20 years, but nonetheless the original imbalance is only now beginning to fade away. The Indians, on the other hand, continue to be a somewhat more transient group, and even in recent times many Indian males continue to come to the area alone, leaving their wives and families back in India. This situation is perhaps reflected most clearly in the fact, as presented in Tables I-7 and I-8, below, that more Indians live in single person household units than any other group in Malaya and Singapore. Data on household size according to race must be presented here in separate tables for Malaya and Singapore due to an incompatability in measurement of household size between two data sources.

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[18] Malaya Census 1957, as reported in Malaya Year Book, 1961, p. 37.

[19] Calculated from Singapore Census, 1957, p. 116, Table 7.

[20] Calculated from Sample Household Survey, 1966..., Table p. 36.

TABLE I-7

Percent Distribution of Households, by Household Size and Race: Malaya, 1957 [21]

Size of Household	Total Population	Malay	Chinese	Indian
1 person	10.0	7.7	11.8	15.7
2 - 5 persons	54.6	61.2	43.0	55.5
6 - 10 persons	31.4	29.4	36.9	26.6
Over 10 persons	4.0	1.7	8.3	2.2
Total Number of Households	1,257,138	662,387	404,940	152,088
Average Size of Households	4.8	4.6	5.5	4.2

TABLE I-8

Percent Distribution of Households, by Household Size and Race: Singapore, 1966 [22]

	Total Population		Malay		Chinese		Indian	
Size of Household	1957	1966	1957	1966	1957	1966	1957	1966
1 person	20.7	8.2	10.3	4.9	17.0	7.7	50.5	18.1
2 - 3 persons	20.9	18.3	24.9	15.9	19.9	17.0	19.0	24.5
4 - 6 persons	31.5	35.2	38.7	35.7	32.6	35.6	18.4	27.2
7 - 9 persons	18.6	25.4	18.7	27.6	20.7	26.4	8.5	20.3
over 9 persons	8.4	12.8	7.3	15.8	9.7	13.2	3.6	10.1
Total Number of Households	N.A.	331,826	N.A.	36,801	N.A.	256,462	N.A.	26,322
Average Size of Households	N.A.	5.8	N.A.	6.4	N.A.	5.9	N.A.	4.9

Language

The racial composition of Malaya and Singapore finds one of its clearest expressions in the realm of language, where the diversity of language, of dialect, and of written script all have contributed to a linguistic kaleido-

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[21] Malaya Census 1957, as reported in Malaya Year Book, 1961, p. 42.

[22] Calculated from Sample Household Survey, 1966..., Tables H.73, H.73(a), P.3.

scope which has been a primary causal variable in the development of the region's mass media structure. Language followed the immigrant groups to Malaya and Singapore, and Malay, Chinese, Indian, and English language streams all play important communication roles in the society. Moreover, a multiplicity of languages, dialects, and written scripts came with the immigrant groups from both China and India, with the result that two of the four dominant language streams are further fragmented into several subdivisions. This has created a situation in Malaya and Singapore, as summarized in the following table, where indigenously printed materials are circulated in six different languages representing four major language families and five distinct scripts, in the process creating the potential for printed messages in as many as eight mutually unintelligible character arrays. Similarly, more than 24 distinctly different spoken dialects are in reasonably wide common use among the various communities inhabiting the area.

The Malay language of Malaya and Singapore has a number of dialects, listed in Table I-9, most of which are largely the result of regional isolation and divergence. Of these, Malacca-Johore-Riau, Pahang, Perak, and Kedah are all quite closely related, are mutually understandable, and together form the basis from which modern Standard Malay is derived. The east coast dialects -- Trengganu and Kelantan -- differ greatly from these dialects; so much so, in fact, that Kelantan is practically unintelligible to west coast Malays. The other Malay dialects have followed separate evolutionary paths -- Archaic Malay by retaining many words which have gone out of use in the other dialects and Patani by employing many Thai loanwords -- and currently are not widely used outside of localized pockets. Aside from these, the only other Malay dialect which is common in Malaya is Sumatran, which is widely used by the Indonesian immigrant community.

Three distinct "styles" of speaking can be distinguished in Malay: standard Malay; trade or jargon Malay, known as Baba Malay (bahasa pasar - bazaar talk); and court Malay, known as Raja Malay. Standard Malay was originally used as a common language between speakers of different dialects, and is now firmly established in this role. It is the style which is scheduled to become the national language, it is taught in all Malay schools, and is widely

Table I-9

Major Languages, Dialects, and Scripts of Malaya & Singapore

Cognate Language	a. Family b. Main branch c. Sub-branch d. Group	Script	Dialects	
Malay	a. Malaya-Polynesian[23] b. ... c. ... d. ...	Rumi-romanized Jawi-Perso-Arabic	Malacca-Johore-Riau Pahang Perak Kedak	Trengganu Kelantan Archaic Malay (Jakun) Patani Sumatran
English	a. Indo-European b. Germanic c. West-Germanic d. Anglo-Frisian	Romanized	none	
Chinese	a. Sino-Tibetan b. Sino-Siamese c. Chinese d. ...	Chinese ideographic and varying romanizations	Mandarin Cantonese Hokkienese Teochow (Tiechiu) Foochow	Hakka Hainanese (Hailam) Henghua Luichow Kwangsi
Tamil[24]	a. Dravidian b. ... c. ... d. ...	Tamil	Tamil Malayalam Telegu	
Malayalam[24]	a. ... b. ... c. ... d. ...	Malayali	Kanarese	
Punjabi	a. Indo-European b. Indo-Aryan c. Indian d. Prakrit (from Vedic-Sanskrit)	Punjabi[25]	Punjabi	

[23] Malay is one of hundreds of related languages and dialects spoken in the vast area extending from Madagascar through insular Southeast Asia to Hawaii.

[24] Tamil and Malayalam are two of at least eighteen separate languages in the Dravidian family which are spoken in Southern India and Northern Ceylon. The Tamil and Malayali scripts represent separate evolutions from the ancient Grantha alphabet used in Southern India for writing Sanskrit.

[25] The Punjabi script is derived from the Gurmukhi alphabet, which was invented in the 16th century by the religious founders of the Sikh community, and which was itself based on the general North Indian Devanagari alphabet in its various cursive forms used in the Punjab.

used by the more assimilated Chinese, by Europeans, and by other non-Malays, particularly in the Singapore-Malacca region. This is lowest common denominator communication, however, as bahasa pasar is really what the name implies -- a language of the market and the street. It is understood by speakers of standard Malay, but is generally regarded with some considerable contempt by them. Raja Malay, on the other hand, is rich, traditionally oriented, and "high style" standard Malay. It is full of innuendo, subtlety, and allusiveness, and direct statements are considered abrupt and impolite. It is used primarily when addressing, or when reference is made to, royalty or the better born, and as a consequence does not have any significant impact insofar as the mass media of the area are concerned.

Similarly, two separate writing styles can be distinguished: traditional literary Malay and modern literary Malay. Traditional literary Malay is not of great relevance to any consideration of mass media structures. As with Raja Malay, it is also "high style" and consists largely of conventional and formal expressions of Sanskrit or Arabic origin which have not changed significantly since the sixteenth century. Modern literary Malay, on the other hand, is specifically the recent response to the requirements of modern journalism and the influences of Western literature. This more casual "modern" style is used primarily in newspapers and other forms of public literature.

Malay can be written either in the Jawi script, which is an adapted form of the Perso-Arabic alphabet, or in the romanized Rumi script. Materials written in Jawi are generally inaccessible to the non-linguist non-Malay, irrespective of whether or not he is able to communicate verbally in the language. By 1945 Rumi had almost entirely replaced Jawi in the written affairs of government, but Jawi continues to be used widely in other forms of written communication. This will be seen, in a subsequent chapter, to be the case particularly with Malay language newspapers, where Jawi has recently enjoyed a major resurgence.

Malay is a predominately traditionalistic language which has been largely unsuited to the scientifically and technologically oriented 20th century. In order to rectify this situation, a major effort was undertaken beginning late in the 1950s by the Malayan government's official Language and

Literature Agency (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) to fabricate and introduce into the language literally thousands of words necessary to verbalize modern concepts and to run a modern society. As a consequence much of modern Malay is a potpourri of borrowed and "Malayanized" words, many of which are derived from English. An example of particular relevance for the present study is the obvious transliteration which created the Malay word "talivishen."

The Chinese in Malaya and Singapore speak nine distinct dialects, reflecting the range of areas in China, mostly the southern coastal regions, from which they originally migrated. Six of these nine dialects have numerical significance: Cantonese, Hokkienese, Hakka, Teochew, Foochow, and Hainanese. The other three are Henghua, Liuchow, and Kwangsi. A survey taken in 1959, for example, reached the conclusion that among the Chinese in Singapore, forty-one percent spoke Cantonese, and the balance spoke an assortment of Hakka, Fukien, Mandarin, and other dialects.[26] Given this diversity of dialects, many of which are mutually unintelligible, Kuo Yu (Mandarin Chinese) frequently serves as a common spoken medium among Chinese from different dialect groups. This northern dialect has been the official language of China since 1918, and has long had great prestige as the language of the imperial court and of the learned. It is the dialect which is taught in all Chinese schools in Malaya and Singapore, and which all younger educated Chinese therefore know. Its use is not universal, however, as many members of the older generation as well as a number of newer immigrants have not adopted it. It is primarily the young educated Chinese who are proficient in its use, but this group is large enough to make Kuo Yu an important medium of communication among the dialect communities as well as a viable means for reaching the Chinese population in general.

Aside from the use of Kuo Yu as a spoken means of communication, however, it is the written language which serves as the lowest common denominator for communication among all literate Chinese in Malaya and Singapore.

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[26] Overseas Audience Research Unit, British Broadcasting Corporation, "Overseas Audience Research Report: Surveys of Listening in Singapore and Malaya, 1959," (unpublished report of a survey conducted for the BBC by the Malayan Research Services in early 1959), N.D. p. 3. Hereafter referred to as "Overseas Audience Research Report:...".

This written language is based on a unique system of pictograms, ideographs, and phonograms, and all literate Chinese employ the same standard written medium, which is not influenced by dialectical differences.

Most of the Indians in Malay and Singapore migrated from South India, and the dominant language among these people is Tamil. Other southern Indians use Malayalam and, to a much lesser extent, Telugu and Kanarese. The latter two languages do not appear in the mass media. Both Tamil and Malayali in their written forms are derived from the Dravidian alphabet, but each is totally different from the other in letter shape and phonetic value. Similarly, the spoken languages are mutually unintelligible in all respects. There is additionally a smaller community -- mostly comprised of Sikhs -- from the northern areas of India in the vicinity of the Punjab. This group uses Punjabi, which in its written form is based on the Devanagari alphabet of India, a script which has a superficial appearance of similarity to the Malay Jawi script but which in fact varies greatly in all respects.

English was the official language of Malaya and Singapore in 1965 and is widely used despite the fact that it is not the "native" language of any of the area's indigenous ethnic groups. It is the primary language for the majority of the Europeans living there, and serves as a common language spoken with varying ability by elements of all other segments of the population. This is particularly the case in urban areas, among the educated strata of the society, in government and administrative work, and in many of those instances when inter-ethnic group communication is necessary. Its relatively wide usage reflects both Malaya's recent colonial heritage and the communication needs dictated by the multi-lingual structure of the society. Given this structure, it would not seem unfounded to suggest that English will continue, even after it is supplanted by Malay as the primary language of the country, to play an important role in its national life and, in particular, in its mass media.

In each locality in Malaya and Singapore speakers of different languages may be found living side by side or intermingled, and many persons speak more than one language or dialect of the same language. English, Mandarin Chinese, and Malay stand out as vehicles for spoken communication outside the local

groups into which the population is divided. Intercommunication among the various Chinese dialects is through Mandarin, which is particularly important in education and commercial relations. Similarly, Standard Malay is firmly established as the common language between speakers of different Malay dialects as well as among non-Malays in rural areas who are required to have contact with Malays in their daily routines and, to an apparently growing extent, among all ethnic groups requiring communication across ethnic lines. English is often used between Chinese and the other communities, and is used most widely in the urban areas, which are populated by Chinese, by certain segments of the Indian community, by the Malay governing elites and civil servants, and by the bulk of the European population. English probably is much more widely known in Singapore that it is in Malaya. A number of different factors coalesce to cause this: a) Singapore is more integrated into the world trading community, which relies on English for its business transactions, b) Singapore has an active tourist trade involving substantial numbers of its population and depending on the use of English, c) the British influence remains much stronger in Singapore, both culturally and in terms of the British bases there which in 1965 employed more than 15 per cent of Singapore's entire working force, and d) English has been pushed in the public schools much more in Singapore than it has been in Malaya. [27]

Despite the continued wide use of English and Chinese in particular spheres, however, only Malay approaches being a common national language. Tamil does not play any major role in the national life of the area outside of the Indian immigrant communities residing there, and its use and knowledge of it is limited to these communities. Within this context, Standard Malay, English, and Mandarin Chinese dominate the mass media, with Tamil playing an essentially secondary role. Locally printed materials appear primarily in both Rumi and Jawi, English, ideographic Chinese, and Tamil; romanized Chinese is rarely used and the Malayalam and Punjabi scripts appear only in those irregular, periodic newspapers with limited circulations which cater to the Malayalam speaking community from India's Kerala state and to the few Punjabi speaking Sikhs and Punjabis. The electronic media primarily employ

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[27] See below, this report, Table I-10.

Standard Malay, English, Mandarin Chinese, and Tamil, although several of the other Chinese dialects are broadcast on occasion.

Language plays an essential role in the preservation of culture, and, as a consequence, any efforts to impose a single language on linguistically heterogenious areas have been, and probably will continue to be, resisted by those groups which view their ethnic identity and cultural heritage as being threatened by such a policy. Such has been the case in Malaya, where efforts to impose Malay as the dominate language have consistently met with opposition by the Indian and, particularly, Chinese communities. Nonetheless, the process of nation building necessitates that a people find appropriate means to communicate among themselves, and in Malaya the official and the Malay community pressures to make Malay the official national language by 1973 had attained some grudging acceptance by all communities as of 1965. Detailed consideration of the guarantees extended to the other racial communities regarding the future roles for the respective languages in the national life of the country are beyond the scope of this report, and it must suffice here to note only that the language needs of each major ethnic group were recognized and that appropriate consideration was to be given, but that Malay was to become the official national language. To this end, a major campaign was under way to create a wider acceptance among all ethnic groups for the use of Standard Malay as a national lingua franca. This campaign included, among other things, "National Language Months" (or, in the earlier phases, Weeks) when all government offices were encouraged to use only Malay in the conduct of their business, the wide-spread teaching of Malay via the mass media and in the schools, and the renaming in Malay of streets, shops, and other public facilities. Notwithstanding this, however, the other major languages of the area continued to play major roles in the national life, with the result that message units frequently had to appear or be broadcast in quadruplicate. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, this was particularly the case in the mass media with radio.

A similar situation exists in Singapore where, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population is Chinese, major efforts also were being made to encourage the use of Malay as the lingua franca. This, of

course, was in conformity with the national policy of Malaysia, of which Singapore was a part until August 1965. In addition to designating Malay as the symbolic "national language", however, Singapore also rather pragmatically recognized all four dominant languages as having "official" status and, moreover, retained English as the "administrative language".

Education and Literacy

Although the educational system in Malaya historically has been organized along racial lines, the government since 1952 -- and especially since 1964 -- has been introducing a number of fundamental reforms to achieve general educational uniformity. All government aided schools (the vast majority), whether public or private, have been required to use a common syllabus, curriculum, and timetable, as well as textbooks designed to foster a common Malaysian outlook.[28] Primary education was offered in Malay, English, Chinese, or Tamil, but it was required from the early grades that a second language, and not infrequently a third, be taught. In Malay and Tamil language stream schools, English was generally taught beginning in about the third grade. The Chinese language stream schools faced special difficulties in that students most usually spoke some local dialect at home and consequently first had to learn Mandarin. Nevertheless, Chinese schools also were required to introduce either English or Malay (and sometimes both) in the early grades. Although accurate data are not available, it has been suggested that in 1965 most Chinese students opted for English. This tendency may be changing with the government policy of pushing Malay as the national language and with other educational reforms which have taken place subsequent to 1965.

Singapore's educational system faced its language instruction problems in much the same way as did Malaya, the primary exception being that considerably more emphasis was placed on English and considerably less on Malay language instruction. These differences are clearly reflected in the following table, which summarizes 1962 data on primary schools, by principal language stream of instruction.

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[28] Area Handbook..., p. 121. See also below, this report, pp. 134-5.

TABLE I-10

Number of Primary Schools and Enrollment, by Language Stream: Malaya and Singapore, 1962.[29]

Language Stream	Malaya Number	Malaya Enrollment (Thousands)	Malaya Enrollment (Percent)	Singapore Number	Singapore Enrollment (Thousands)	Singapore Enrollment (Percent)
Malay	2345	487,200	43	43	24,600	7
English	544	229,300	20	162	168,300	51
Chinese	1213	354,400	31	245	133,400	41
Indian	7	62,300	6	14	1,400	0.5
Integrated (multiple language)				10	1,700	0.5
TOTAL	4839	1,133,200	100	474	329,000	100

Rates of education of children in both Malaya and Singapore are high. In 1962 it was estimated that approximately 85 per cent of the children between the ages of 6 and 12 in Malaya were attending primary school. The comparable figure for Singapore was 89 percent,[30] and by 1965 it was claimed that this figure had reached 95 percent.

Government aided secondary schools in Malaya and Singapore were required to teach in English or Malay, and all examinations leading to higher secondary or university education were given in these languages. The University of Malaya and the University of Singapore gave instruction primarily in English. Nan Yang University in Singapore was the only major institute of higher education in the country which offered advanced education in Chinese.

The following table summarizes the types of education offered in Malaya and Singapore as of 1961, by the numbers of schools and the numbers of students enrolled in each.

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[29] Adapted from Communications Fact Book for Malaysia (with Comparative Data for Singapore): 1965/66 (an unattributed compilation of materials from government censuses yearbooks, and from Area Handbook...), Table 16. Hereafter referred to as Communications Fact Book... .

[30] Communications Fact Book..., p. 26.

Table I-11

Types of Education, by Schools & Students: Malaya & Singapore, 1961.[31]

	Malaya		Singapore	
Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
Preschool	n.a.	9,596	41	5,911
Primary	4,916	1,127,268	470	302,070
Secondary	692	180,184	87	66,478
Technical	35	6,408	5	1,379
Teacher Training	18	8,937	...	...
Higher	10	3,092	5	11,582
Special	24	274	...	...

Data for Malaya on levels of education achieved by various segments of the population are not currently available. Singapore data, however, suggest the following guidelines for early 1966: For all persons aged 10 or over, around a quarter had no education in any form; a third had no more than primary education, and of these a large part consisted of persons who had never completed even primary education; just about one-sixth had a minimum of some secondary education; and the remaining quarter were currently undergoing education.[32] These figures are presented in a slightly altered fashion in Table I-12 below, which takes account of only those persons who had completed formal education in some form. Table I-13, which summarizes data for the Singapore population over aged 10, shows a full percentage of breakdown of completed educational levels and current educational status by age and sex.

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[31] Adapted from United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1963 (New York: United Nations, 1964), pp. 654, 663.

[32] You Poh Seng and Stephen H. K. Yeh, "The Sample Household Survey of Singapore, 1966," Loc. Cit., pp. 47-63.

Table I-12

Formal Education: Singapore, 1966[33]
(percentage of relevant group, aged 10 and over)

Education	Total	Male	Female
No education	34.3	15.8	52.4
Left before completing primary	31.6	39.2	24.3
Left on completing primary	12.8	17.0	8.7
Left before completing secondary	10.3	14.1	6.6
Left on completing secondary	8.7	11.2	6.4
Left before completing university	0.2	0.2	0.1
Left on completing university	2.0	2.6	1.5
TOTAL	100	100	100

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[33] You Poh Seng, "The Population of Singapore, 1966:...," Loc. Cit. p. 71.

Table f-13

Formal Education, by Age & Sex: Singapore, 1966[34]

(percent of relevant group, aged 10 and over)

	10 - 19		20 - 34		35 - 54		55 and Over		Total Population Aged 10 and Over		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	TOTAL
No education	1.3	7.3	7.2	37.0	18.8	67.4	38.3	88.7	11.5	40.1	25.6
Left before completing primary	11.7	15.3	34.9	27.5	42.1	18.7	37.8	7.2	28.5	18.6	23.6
Left on completing primary	7.1	6.2	17.4	10.7	15.9	5.1	9.9	1.6	12.4	6.7	9.6
Left before completing secondary	5.5	3.7	16.9	9.0	11.6	4.1	6.9	1.3	10.3	5.0	7.7
Left on completing secondary	2.1	2.2	16.4	11.1	9.1	3.3	5.9	0.8	8.1	4.9	6.5
Left before completing university	---	---	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Left on completing university	---	---	4.3	2.8	2.4	1.2	1.0	0.2	1.9	1.1	1.5
Currently in primary school	41.6	37.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	15.2	13.1	14.2
Currently in seccadary school	30.1	27.4	0.8	0.5	---	---	---	---	11.2	9.8	10.5
Currently in university	0.6	0.6	2.0	1.2	---	---	---	---	0.8	0.6	0.7
TOTAL	(251,800) 100	(237,200) 100	(185,00) 100	(193,500) 100	(173,800) 100	(160,100) 100	(77,800) 100	(82,400) 100	(688,400) 100	(673,200) 100	(1,361,600) 100

[34] Adapted from Sample Household Survey, 1966, Table P.32(a).

The currently available data on the numbers and distributions of people in Malaya and Singapore who are literate in each of the major language streams are very inadequate. The following four tables, which summarize 1957 census data, can therefore serve as only the most primitive of interim guidelines, and are presented here only as approximations pending the acquisition of more contemporary and adequate data.

The criteria for literacy which was used in obtaining these 1957 data was the ability to read and write a simple letter in any one of the four major languages.

Table I-14

Literacy Rate in Any Language, by Race & Sex: Malaya & Singapore, 1957
(percent of relevant group, aged 10 and over)

	Malaya [35]			Singapore [36]		
	All Persons	Males	Females	All Persons	Males	Females
Total All Races	51	68	32	52	69	34
Malays	NA	65	29	62	82	39
Chinese	NA	70	34	46	63	30
Indians	NA	70	36	75	82	55
Others	NA	NA	NA	94	97	91

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[35] Malaya Census, 1957, as reported in Malaya Year Book, 1961, p. 41.

[36] Singapore Census, 1957, as reported in Singapore Year Book, 1960, p. 56.

Table I-15

Literacy Rate in Any Language, by Race, Sex, and Age: Malaya, 1957 [37]
(percent of relevant group, aged 10 and over)

Age Group	All Races		Malays		Chinese		Indians	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-14	79	61	84	66	73	56	83	62
15-19	83	54	82	51	83	59	87	53
20-24	78	38	72	33	79	45	84	41
30-34	71	24	64	18	78	31	80	30
40-44	62	12	55	7	71	16	59	13
50-54	50	6	41	3	57	7	48	8
60-64	40	3	31	2	47	3	40	7

Table I-16

General Literacy & Literacy in Specific Languages, by Race and Sex: Malaya, 1957 [38]

(percent of relevant group, aged 10 and over)

	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others	Total All Persons	All Males	All Females
Literacy in any one language	47	53	57	78	51	68	32
Literacy in Malay	46	3	5	14	25	33	16
Literacy in English	5	11	16	58	10	13	6
Literacy in Another Language	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

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[37] Adapted from Malaya Census, 1957, Table 9, p. 92; Table 9A(1), p. 93; Table 9(B)1, p. 94; and Table 9(C)1, p. 95.

[38] Adapted from Malaya Census, 1957, as reported in Communications Fact Book..., p. 21 and in Malaya Year Book, 1961, p. 482.

Table I-17

General Literacy & Literacy in Specific Languages, by Age and Sex: Malaya, 1957[39]
(percent of relevant group)

Age	All Persons			Males			Females		
	Literacy in Any Language	In Malay	In English	Literacy in Any Language	In Malay	In English	Literacy in Any Language	In Malay	In English
10-14	71	40	14	79	44	17	61	35	NA
15-19	69	35	16	83	43	22	54	28	4
20-24	58	28	11	78	38	17	38	18	4
25-29	52	25	9	74	36	13	31	14	3
30-34	48	24	9	71	36	13	24	11	2
35-39	42	20	8	66	32	11	18	7	2
40-44	39	16	7	62	26	10	12	4	2
45-49	35	13	5	56	20	8	9	3	2
50-54	31	11	4	50	17	6	6	2	1
55-59	30	10	3	46	15	5	5	1	1
60-64	24	8	2	40	13	4	3	1	1
65 +	17	6	1	31	11	2	2	1	1
Total Population, aged 10 and over	51	25	10	68	33	13	32	16	6

[39] Malaya Census, 1957, as reported in Malaya Year Book, 1961, p. 482.

The data presented in Table I-17, above, illustrates vividly the importance which education assumes in raising general literacy levels in developing countries. They also attest to the fact that by 1965 they probably were badly dated, as both Malay and Singapore were committed through the intervening years to campaigns to raise, through school education, their population's literacy levels. No data is currently available, however, to indicate the exact extent to which these campaigns have been successful.

Among the four major languages, general literacy in Malay probably is increasing most rapidly, due in large measure to the fact, previously noted, that the government is committed, by a specific provision of the Constitution, to making Malay the sole official language by 1973. Romanized Malay is undoubtedly much more widely known than is Jawi, which continues to be almost the sole possession of the Malays. Moreover, although it cannot be substantiated with the available data, Jawi would appear to be more widely known within the Malay community which is rurally oriented and traditionalistic than it is among those coming under urban influences, where the Rumi script receives a much greater emphasis. Additionally, Jawi probably is more widely known among the older segments of the Malay population than among the youth, as well as among those individuals having closer association with Muslim religious life.

At the same time, however, it is reported that literacy rates in English continue to rise rapidly. This is partially due to the continued emphasis on English as the medium of instruction in many Malayan and Singaporean schools, particularly in the higher grades, and is a phenomenon which primarily affects the lower-aged groups and the larger urban centers of the region. It is also partially accounted for by the increasing numbers of Chinese students who, in recent years, have been learning English, sometimes to the exclusion of their own written language, in preference to learning Malay as a second (or third) language.

Literacy in both Chinese and Tamil continues to be confined to members of the respective ethnic groups, but no data are currently available to suggest the direction or rate at which literacy levels in these languages might be changing.

Of the various ethnic groups in Malaya and Singapore, the Europeans and Eurasians are reported to be almost wholly literate. The highest non-European literacy rate is reported among the Indian community (only about 40% of which, curiously enough, is literate in any of the Indian languages,[40] with the balance being literate in English). In Malaya the third most literate group was the Chinese; in Singapore it was the Malays.[41]

Urban/rural breakdowns on these literacy levels are not available, but it has been suggested for Malaya that aside from the European population the urban Chinese constitute the most literate group in the country.[42] This seems to suggest that there might be a very significant disparity in literacy levels between urban and rural Chinese.

These general characterizations of the population affect the effectiveness of the various means of mass media in several ways, the most important of which probably is the composition and location of the audience. For example, among the more highly literate Europeans and urban Chinese, the press is the most effective source of information. And despite the lower literacy levels, the press is reported to be quite effective even among the rural Chinese,[43] because Chinese newspapers, frequently the only newspapers found in rural areas, are numerous and usually carry news of special interest to the local dialect groups. Among the urban Malays and Indians the press and the radio have perhaps equal effect. Among the largely illiterate non-Chinese rural peoples the radio and word of mouth probably constitute the principal sources of information. These observations will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of this report.

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[40] Area Handbook..., p. 111.

[41] Ibid., p. 233.

[42] Ibid., p. 391.

[43] Ibid., p. 391.

CHAPTER II: THE ELECTRONIC MASS MEDIA

Section 1: Radio Broadcasting

Radio broadcasting in Malaya was begun on an amateur basis in the early 1930's by a small group of enthusiasts, but it was not until immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II that two small make-shift broadcasting stations were set up by the United Kingdom Ministry of Information and Propaganda to provide limited service to Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. During Japan's occupation of Malaya, which began with the fall of Singapore in January 1942, broadcasting facilities were slightly expanded with the establishment, by the Japanese Military Administration, of additional small stations with low power outputs in Penang, Seremban, and Malacca.[44] Following the war, these facilities were taken over by the British Military Administration which, in April 1946, turned them over to the Malayan government's newly created Department of Broadcasting, which came to be commonly known as Radio Malaya. At that time, Radio Malaya was a pan-Malayan operation administered from Singapore, the staff was very small, and the equipment, most of it obsolete war surplus, was limited.[45]

The outbreak of militant communist terrorism leading to the declaration, in 1948, of the Malayan Emergency both necessitated and facilitated an expansion of Radio Malaya which continued through and beyond 1965. Staff recruitment and training and acquisition of technical facilities made particularly significant progress during the height of the Emergency between 1950 and 1955, and in 1956 a long-term development plan having the objective of providing nation-wide radio coverage was drawn up.[46] By 1965, this objective was well on the way toward being fulfilled for the peninsular area and Singapore.[47]

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[44] Malaysia Yearbook, 1965, p. 462.

[45] Ini-lah Radio Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur: Radio Malaysia, 1967), p. 2. Hereafter referred to as Ini-lah Radio Malaysia.

[46] Communications Fact Book..., p. 86.

[47] Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 11.

When Malaya achieved her independence in August 1957, the pan-Malayan radio service headquartered in Singapore, which remained a Crown Colony, became somewhat of an anachronism, and consequently on January 1, 1959, a new Radio Malaya under the Department of Broadcasting, in the Malayan Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, was inaugurated in Kuala Lumpur as a radio service designed to serve the federation of Malaya exclusively.[48] At that same time the facilities in Singapore came under separate administrative and operative control as the Broadcasting Division in the Singapore Ministry of Culture and were called Radio Singapura.[49] With the formation of Malaysia in September 1963, the entire broadcasting system of all the component parts of the new federation was renamed Radio Malaysia, but broadcasting within each of the state branches of Malaysia (Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah) was to retain its own identity and real control presumably was to rest with the appropriate department in each of the component state governments.[50] In fact, allocation of control over the radio and television broadcasting services was one of the more obscure segments of the final set of agreements leading to the formation of Malaysia. In principle, radio broadcasting was a federal matter, at least in so far as "general policies" were concerned, but in practice there were so many loopholes in these agreements that one can only conclude that the issue had been postponed and that both parties had merely agreed to disagree at some indefinite time in the future.[51]

Broadcasting is by law a federal enterprise and government licenses are required of owners and operators of all radio (and television) broadcasting stations. As a virtual government monopoly it might be assumed that a consistent government line would be followed, yet this seems not to have been completely the case for Radio Malaysia prior to Separation. The general function of the Department of Broadcasting in Kuala Lumpur was defined in 1964 as being to "provide first-class radio service for the entertainment, information, and

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[48] Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 2.

[49] Overseas Audience Research Report:...," p. 1.

[50] Federation of Malaya, Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office, 1963), Section 10h, p. 37.

[51] Robert O. Tilman (Regional Integration) and "...The Case of Singapore," unpublished paper, p. 6.

education of the rayat (people); to utilize all facilities for the purpose of nation-building; and to inculcate in the people a spirit of patriotism and love for Malaysia."[52] The Ministry of Culture in Singapore defined virtually an identical function for its Broadcasting Division,[53] and yet as events led Malaysia toward the August 1965 Separation, the two broadcasting centers increasingly worked at essentially cross purposes, particularly in those broad areas where the Alliance in Malaya and the P.A.P. in Singapore apparently found it impossible to agree on mutually acceptable definitions of such central concepts as "patriotism" or on the exact meaning, in the multi-racial Malaysian context, of "nation-building." In fact, one source of tension in the months prior to Separation was Kuala Lumpur's stated intention to establish a Singapore office of the Federal Ministry of Information -- a clear threat, said the P.A.P., that the federal government intended to assume control of Singapore's radio and television networks, to whose programs it objected in apparent direct proportion to the extent to which they advocated a "Malaysian Malaysia" and an open airing of potential communal tensions.[54]

Broadcasting Facilities

Radio Malaysia in 1965 was using both medium and short-wave transmission facilities in its efforts to attain nation wide coverage. This was due primarily to the fact that at the time medium-wave services were still being expanded in order to provide full coverage, and in the interim, short-wave facilities were being used for program relays, as well as for servicing those areas beyond medium-wave range.

The transitional nature of this situation can be most clearly illustrated on the East Coast of Malaya where, prior to January 1963, the entire

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[52] Area Handbook..., p. 406.

[53] See Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 208.

[54] Willard A. Hanna, "The Separation of Singapore from Malaysia," American Universities Field Staff Reports Service, Southeast Asia Series, Vol. XIII, No. 21, September 1965, p. 21.

region was dependent on short-wave transmission eminating from Singapore.[55] At that time, the region's first broadcasting station, a two-network transmitting-studio-office complex, was completed at Kota Bahru, and later in 1963 a series of land line medium-wave automatic relay transmitters were completed along the coast,[56] thus linking Kuantan, Kuala Trengganu, Kota Bahru, and all adjacent areas for the first time to medium-wave transmitters originating in Kuala Lumpur. Moreover, in mid-1965 construction work was nearing completion on medium-wave stations in Kuala Trengganu and Kuantan which were to be similar to the one already in operation in Kota Bahru.

Thus, by late 1965, Radio Malaysia (Malaya) maintained medium-wave studios, offices, and transmitting stations in Georgetown (Penang), Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, Johore Bahru, Kuantan, Kuala Trengganu, and Kota Bahru and was rapidly closing in on its goal of nation-wide coverage. The following map shows the location of these facilities and their approximate broadcasting ranges. This service area covered approximately 60 percent of the total area and 80 percent of the total population of Malaya.

These 8 medium-wave stations contained 20 transmitters with a total output of 215 kilowatts. All the stations on the West Coast of Malaya were linked by micro-wave circuits and plans had been made in 1965 to replace the land lines connecting the stations of the East Coast by micro-wave in the near future.[57] In addition to these medium-wave facilities, Radio Malaysia (Malaya) maintained 2 short-wave transmitters, located at Penang and at Kajang (near Kuala Lumpur),with a total power output of 125 kilowatts.

Both medium-and short-wave transmitting facilities were undergoing a considerable expansion in late 1965. The short-wave expansion was for external broadcasting purposes, primarily in response to Indonesian Konfrontasi, and by the end of 1966 these facilities consisted of 14 trans-

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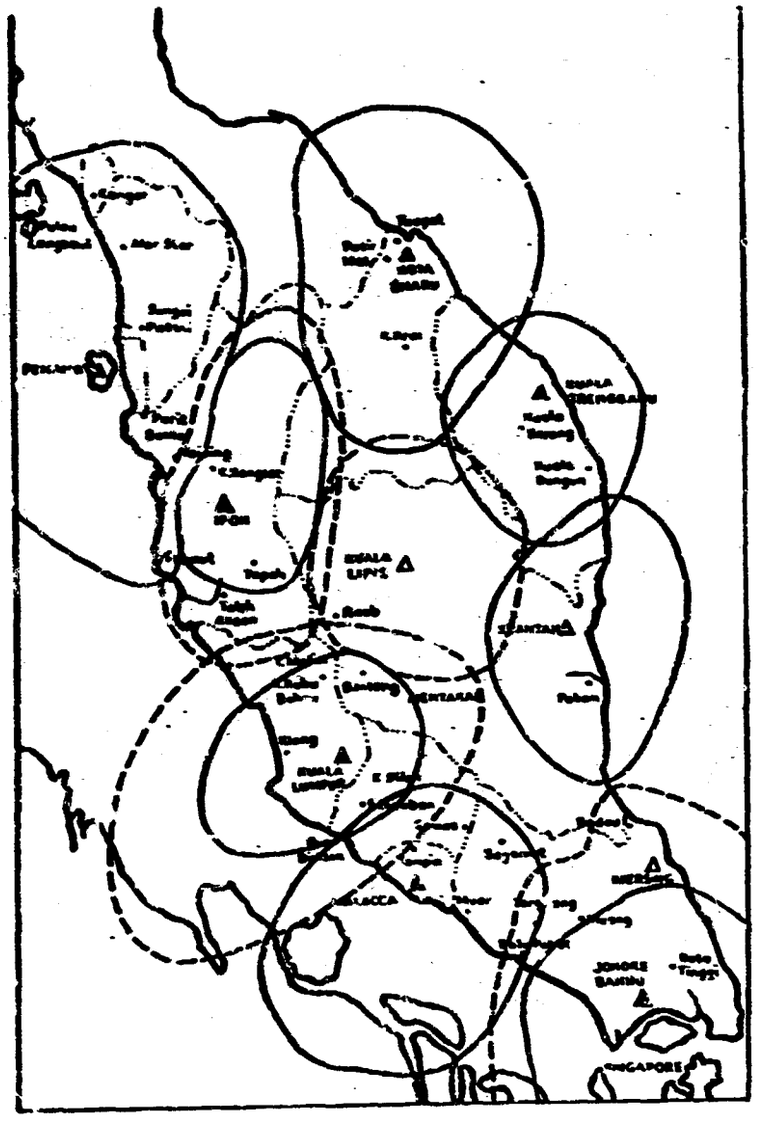
[55] Area Handbook..., p. 406.

[56] Malaysia Year Book, 1965, pp. 462-3.

[57] Ibid., p. 463.

Figure II-1

Medium-Wave Radio Coverage: Malaya, 1966[58]



——— Present Coverage

- - - - Extended Coverage, as planned for 1967-1970

Existing Radio Malaysia Stations

Future Stations

[58] Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 11.

mitters with a total power output of 525 kilowatts.[59] The medium-wave expansion program included the construction of 4 new broadcasting stations, each with two 10 kilowatt transmitters, and the raising of the Johore Bahru station's power from 10 to 50 kilowatts. Malaysian authorities claimed that with these additions Radio Malaysia (Malaya) would be able to service the entire peninsula area with medium-wave broadcasting.[60]

In mid-1965, Radio Malaysia (Singapore) maintained one broadcasting facility near the center of the island. This station contained 5 medium-wave transmitters having a total power output of 140 kilowatts, and 7 short-wave transmitters with a total power output of 180 kilowatts.

Medium-wave facilities in Singapore were linked with those of the West Coast of Malaya by VHF microwave links, thus enabling pan-Malayan programs to be broadcast. Additionally, telecommunication facilities were available for program exchanges and for complete national hook-ups.[61] This telecommunication linkage appears to have been used much less regularly between the Kuala Lumpur and Singapore broadcasting centers than it was, as mentioned, to link the East Coast stations with Kuala Lumpur. The currently available data, however, do not indicate the specific extent to which either the existing VHF microwave or the telecommunications linkages were used to facilitate broadcasting cooperation between Singapore and Malaya. One casual observer has suggested that the formation of Malaysia had little noticeable effect on broadcasting coordination between the two communications centers. Aside from occasional news broadcast exchanges and some school broadcasts (which will be discussed below) it seemed that broadcasting "changed little in any formal sense during the period of Malaysia-Singapore association."[62]

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[59] Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 17.

[60] UNESCO, Report on Radio Development in Asia, Part II-2, "Malaysia," WS/0265.62(MC), n.d., p. 14. Hereafter referred to as Report on Radio Development... .

[61] G.A. Langley, "Telecommunications in Malaya," Journal of Tropical Geography, Vol. 17, May 1963, pp. 79-91.

[62] Robert O. Tilman, "...The Case of Singapore," Loc. Cit., p. 7.

Language Stream Broadcasting

The unique problems Malaya and Singapore's mass media facilities face in having to accommodate and service four separate officially recognized languages have already been suggested. To conform to the nation's multilingual requi ements, both Radio Malaysia (Malaya) and Radio Malaysia (Singapore) maintained four systems of programming facilities. Organizationally speaking, this meant that at both the Singapore and Kuala Lumpur broadcasting centers there were four supervisors (controllers) directly in charge of and responsible for the programming of the four language streams. Similarly, both centers transmitted four different language services on separate channels, frequently simultaneously, on both medium-and short-wave. Table II-1 summarizes the broadcasting frequencies and power outputs of each language stream for each of Malaya's and Singapore's radio stations.

Language stream broadcasting within Malaya is centrally coordinated and controlled from Kuala Lumpur, and all scheduling throughout the country, therefore, is more or less uniform. Locally produced programs, of course, introduce a certain amount of lattitude in this uniformity. As Table II-2 shows, Radio Malaysia (Malaya) broadcast its domestic service on a weekly average of 116.5 hours in Malay, 86 hours in English, 95 hours in Chinese, and 89 hours in Chinese, and 89 hours in Tamil. Comparable figures for Singapore are 108.5, 111, 137, and 95 hours respectively. In Malaya, the Chinese broadcasting was further broken down into Mandarin, Hakka, Cantonese, and Amoy dialects; in Singapore, into Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, Teochow, Foochow, Hakka, and Hainanese dialects. No data is currently available on the weekly breakdown of broadcasting in each of these dialects. Radio Malaysia (Malaya) thus was broadcasting domestic service for 386.5 hours per week, while Singapore was broadcasting domestic service for 451.5 hours weekly.

Table II-2 would seem to suggest that broadcasting in both Malaya and Singapore was not continuous, but rather was in operation through peak listening hours only -- i.e., in the mornings, at noon, and through the evening. These data are misleading to the extent that, expecially in Singapore, many of the hours indicated as ones in which the facilities were off the air were in fact devoted to broadcasts to schools. If these school broadcasts are taken

Table II-1a

Broadcasting Facilities: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[63]

I. MALAYAN FACILITIES

Location	Language	Frequency (kc)	Transmitters (kw)
Medium Wave			
Georgetown (Penang)	Malay	660	10
	English	860	10
	Chinese/Tamil	1,040	10
Ipoh	Malay	550	5
	English	740	5
	Chinese/Tamil	1,260	5
Kuala Lumpur	Malay	590	20
	English	885	20
	Chinese/Tamil	1,070	20
Malacca	Malay	1,005	10
	English	1,160	10
	Chinese/Tamil	1,280	10
Johore Bahru	Malay	570	10
	English	765	10
	Chinese/Tamil	1,220	10
Kuantan	Malay	810	10
Kuala Trengganu	Malay	765	10
	English	960	10
Kota Bahru	Malay	900	10
	English	840	10
			215
Short Wave			
Penang	Malay	(4790 or 7280)	10
		9,515	10
	English	(4985 or 7300)	10
Kajang (Kuala Lumpur)	Malay	6,100	10
	English	9,750	10
	Chinese	6,025	5
	Tamil	(4845 or 6135)	10
	Overseas Service	7,110	50
			125

Table II-1b

Broadcasting Facilities: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[63]

II. SINGAPORE

Location	Language	Frequency (kc)	Transmitters (kw)
Medium Wave			
Jurong	Malay	990	10
	English	630	10
	Chinese	680	10
	Tamil/Chinese	1,370	10
	Multilingual	790	100
			140
Short Wave			
Jurong	Malay	6,155/7250	50/7.5
	English	5,052/11940	7.5/50
	Chinese	5,990 (or 6000)/9635	7.5/50
	Tamil/Chinese	7,170	7.5
			180

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[63] The data in this table and in the tables which immediately follow are derived from numerous sources, including Communications Fact Book..., Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, Area Handbook..., and World Radio-Television Handbook, 1967, 19th Edition, Revised (London: Lund-Johansen, 1967). Due to the fact that data in these various sources are frequently contradictory, the figures presented here and below occasionally represent best-guesstimates.

Table II-2

Hours of Domestic Service Broadcasting: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[64]

Language	Hours	Total hours/week
I. MALAYA FACILITIES	Weekdays	
Malay	6:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.; (T., Th.) 3:00 p.m. to midnight (M.,W.,F.) 4:30 p.m. to midnight	80.5
English	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.: 1:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.; 5:00 p.m. to midnight	55
Chinese	6:25 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; 12:00 a.m. to 1:15 p.m.; 4:00 p.m. to midnight	60
Tamil	5:30 a.m. to 8:00 a.m.; 1:15 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.; 4:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.	56
	Weekends	
Malay	6:00 a.m. to midnight (Sat., Sun.)	36
English	(Sat.) 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; 2:00 p.m. to midnight	
	(Sun.) 6:00 a.m. to midnight	31
Chinese	6:25 a.m. to midnight (Sat., Sun.)	35
Tamil	(Sat.) 5:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.; 1:15 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.	
	(Sun.) 5:30 a.m. to 11:00 p.m.	33
		386.5
II. SINGAPORE FACILITIES	Weekdays	
Malay	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; 11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.; 3:00 p.m. to midnight	72.5
English	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.; 5:00 p.m. to midnight	75
Chinese	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.; 4:00 p.m. to midnight	80
Tamil/[65] Chinese	6:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m.; 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.; 9:00 p.m. to midnight	65 / 15
	Weekends	
Malay	6:00 a.m. to midnight	36
English	6:00 a.m. to midnight	36
Chinese	6:00 a.m. to midnight	36
Tamil/	6:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.	30 /
Chinese	9:00 p.m. to midnight	6
		451.5

[64] World Radio and Television Handbook, 1967

[65] The Chinese/Tamil data for Malaya are inconsistent in that they frequently show an overlay on Chinese and Tamil programming on the same transmitting frequency at the same time. See Table II-1, above.

into account, then Singapore's facilities were broadcasting continuously for 18 hours each day in each language stream (with the Tamil broadcasting switching to Chinese after 9:00 p.m. every night), for a total of 504 broadcasting hours per week. Similar considerations would raise the broadcasting hours per week for Radio Malaysia (Malaya) to approximately 416. The school broadcasting program will be discussed in somewhat greater detail below.

Hours of normal broadcasting in all languages are extended on weekends and national holidays. And, as is also shown in Table II-2, the hours of broadcasting vary according to the language group which is involved. This represents an effort to accomodate to the listening habits of the particular language streams (and may additionally represent an attempt to minimize the number of personnel required to run the broadcasting system).

Although all language streams had channels specifically designed for their tastes and interests, it was government policy that no channel would be exclusively broadcast in a single language. This was put into practice mostly during the early morning hours, when music of the other cultures frequently was played, during request programs, and, in particular, during "national" hours, when all channels would consciously intermingle cultures and languages in an effort to foster a national feeling. Additionally, the "national" hours allocated considerable time to such political topics as speeches by candidates for political offices, discussions of party platforms, analyses of the Constitution, and other matters of political interest. Other national-type programs included coverage of cultural and educational events, international sports contests, state visits, and graduation ceremonies. The primary objective of these programs was to foster the idea of Malaysian unity.

Aside from such national hour programs, the only conscious effort to fully integrate all four language streams on one radio channel had been Singapore's Suara Singapore, which broadcast at 990 kilocycles. This service catered to discriminating performers in all main cultural streams, and featured an intermingling of cultural programs, national hours, vari-

ety shows, and live broadcasts with transcripted materials from foreign stations. Although the author's personal, subjective, and undoubtedly selective observation in late 1963 was that this service was the most generally listened-to radio service in Singapore, Suara Singapore was absorbed into the various language streams of the domestic service during 1964,[66] and therefore was not in operation as a separate service by mid-1965.[67]

Program Content

In addition to these variations in the hours of broadcasting according to the separate language streams, there also are similarly differentiated variations in program content. As indicated in the following table, for example, Radio Malaysia (Malaya) transmitted far more newscasts in Chinese per day (average of 14) than in Malay (average of 8), and a similar emphasis existed in Singapore. This most probably can be accounted for by the numerous Chinese dialects which are in use in the region. Interestingly enough, Radio Malaysia (Singapore) apparently programmed considerably fewer news broadcasts than did Radio Malaysia (Malay). While Kuala Lumpur had a total of 40 news broadcasts daily, Singapore may have had as few as 25.[68]

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66 Singapore Year Book, 1964; p. 228.

67 It is interesting to note, however, that the Suara Singapore service reportedly was reestablished as a separate service some time between late 1965 and mid-1967. The reasons for either Suara Singapore is absorption into the separate language stream broadcasting services or its reestablishment as a separate service are not known to the author at this time.

68 Data on Singapore are incomplete, and an irreconcilable contradiction exists between sources. The World Radio and Television Handbook, Loc. Cit. p. 176 lists the times for news broadcasts which have been cited, and the numbers of broadcasts in parentheses indicate the claims made in Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 210. No other corroborative or disconfirming data are available at this time.

Table II-3

Daily News Broadcasts by Language Service: Malaya and Singapore, 1965

Language	Times of News Broadcasts	No. of Broadcasts	Total Minutes
I. MALAYA			
Malay	7:30 a.m., 8:30 a.m., 11:00 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 5:00 p.m., 8:00 p.m., 10:00 p.m., 11:30 p.m.	8	65
English	6:00 a.m., 6:45 a.m., 7:00 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 5:00 p.m., 5:45 p.m., 6:30 p.m., 9:30 p.m., 11:30 p.m.	9	75
Chinese	6:30 a.m., 7:00 a.m., 7:30 a.m., 8:00 a.m., 12:50 p.m., 1:05 p.m., 5:00 p.m., 5:45 p.m., 8:00 p.m., 9:00 p.m., 10:00 p.m., 11:30 p.m.	14	125
Tamil	6:15 a.m., 7:30 a.m., 7:45 a.m., 1:30 a.m., 5:00 p.m., 5:30 p.m., 7:00 p.m., 9:30 p.m., 10:45 p.m.	9	65
		40	330
II. SINGAPORE			
Malay	6:15 a.m., 7:15 a.m., 1:00 p.m., 5:15 p.m., 8:15 p.m., 10:15 p.m.	6(9)	NA
English	7:00 a.m., 8:00 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 7:00 p.m., 9:30 p.m., 11:00 p.m.	6(9)	NA
Chinese	7:15 a.m., 8:15 a.m., 12:30 a.m., 1:15 p.m., 7:15 p.m., 8:15 p.m., 9:15 p.m., 10:15 p.m.	8(21)	NA
Tamil	7:15 a.m., 8:00 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 6:30 p.m., 8:30 p.m.	5(7)	NA
		25(46)	NA

This type of programming variation as a function of the language stream of broadcasting is reflected even more clearly in Table II-4, which gives a percentage breakdown of program content by language service for Radio Malaysia (Malaya) in 1965. Whereas the Chinese service broadcast the most news, the Malay service broadcast the most educational and

informative materials, and the English service broadcast the most entertainment and music. Similarly, the English service broadcast the least educational materials, the Indian service broadcast the least informative materials, and the Malay service broadcast the least entertainment.

Table II-4

Program Content, by Language: Malaya, 1965[69]

(percentage of total programming in each language)

Language	Program Content				
	News	Entertainment	Information	Education	Other (Including Aborigine Broadcasts)
Malay	7.1	62.2	16.8	8.4	5.5
English	9.9	77.6	8.5	2.7	1.3
Chinese	14.1	68.6	10.3	5.6	1.4
Tamil	9.3	72.0	5.7	9.5	3.5

Detailed statistics on the program content of language stream broadcasts for Radio Malaysia (Singapore) in 1965 are not available at this time. It has been estimated, however, that 66 percent of the programs in all language services were of a "commercial" variety, 20 percent were of a "national" variety, and 14 percent were broadcasts to schools.[70] "Commercial" programs were loosely defined as falling into three catagories — drama, music, and variety shows — and "national" programs were said to provide news, information, educational programs, and

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69 Adopted from Malaysia Year Book, 1965, p. 464. The distinction between educational and informative materials is not made explicit, although the most plausible interpretation seems to be that the educational category refers primarily to school broadcasts.

70 Communications Fact Book, p. 37.

entertainment. A specifically stated objective of the government was to use radio (and other media whenever possible) to bring to the attention of the listeners the achievements and the industrial and social progress of the state.

Quality of Broadcasting

Objective indicators comparing the quality of broadcasting offered by the two communication centers (Kuala Lumpur and Singapore) and among the four language services offered by each probably do not exist. Consequently, it must suffice here only to observe subjectively that programs originating in Singapore tended "to be somewhat better than those originating in Malaya, reflecting the greater availability of performing and technical talent in Singapore and also longer experience in the entertainment field."[71] As will be discussed in somewhat greater detail in subsequent sections of this report, however, the quality of radio broadcasting in both Malaya and Singapore was being threatened by the exodus of many experienced and talented people to the more lucrative and exciting field of television, which first began transmission in the region during 1963.

School Broadcasts and Educational Radio

School broadcasts played an important role in the programming activities of Radio Malaysia in both Kuala Lumpur and Singapore in 1965. These broadcasts were transmitted during hours which would otherwise appear from Table II-2, above, to be without radio broadcasting services of any kind. In this case, Radio Malaysia clearly distinguished between "domestic service broadcasts" and "broadcasts to schools." In Singapore such broadcasts to schools filled all those hours daily between 6:00 a.m. and midnight when domestic service broadcasts were not being transmitted. School broadcasts were transmitted in the mornings

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[71] Robert O. Tilman, "... The Case of Singapore", p. 6.

with repeats in the afternoons in all four language streams, and during school vacations and holidays the resulting vacant periods in the broadcasting schedule were filled with domestic service programs of general interest[72] -- usually music. A similar situation existed with Radio Malaysia (Malaya), the exception being that not all gaps in the domestic service broadcasting schedule were filled by broadcasts to schools, with the consequence that periods remained when the Kuala Lumpur facilities were off the air completely.

The following table indicates the number of hours per week devoted to school broadcasts in Malaya and Singapore.

Table II-5

Domestic Service and School Broadcasts, by Language Stream: Malaya and Singapore, 1964-1965[73]

(hours)

Language	Domestic Service[74]	Schools[75]	Total	Per Day
I. MALAYA				
Malay	107	7	114	16
English	87	12	99	14
Chinese	94.3	7.5	102	14.5
Tamil	87.5	6	93.5	13.5
Total	375.8	32.5	408.5	mean 14.5
Per Day	54	6.5	58.5	14.5
II. SINGAPORE				
Malay	116	10	126	18
English	114	12	126	18
Chinese	139.5	7.5	147	21
Tamil	99	6	105	15
Total	468.5	35.5	504	mean 18
Per Day	67	7	72	18

[72] Singapore Year Book, 1964, p. 229.

[73] The author recognizes and acknowledges the discrepencies between data presented in Tables II-2 and II-5. They reflect discrepencies in the currently available data which have been impossible to reconcile, much of which probably is attributable either to the slightly different time references of these data or to faulty reporting.

[74] For Malaya, see Malaysia Year Book, 1965, p. 464; for Singapore, see Report on Radio Development ..., p. 5.

[75] Report on Radio Development ..., p. 23.

In mid-1965 there was no division for school broadcasts in Radio Malaysia (Malaya) and consequently, the programs produced in Singapore were relayed by VHF to Kuala Lumpur, where they were subsequently transmitted to almost every school (primary and secondary) in Malaya. These educational programs were produced in cooperation with educational authorities to serve as an aid to classroom teaching in the schools. Their emphasis was primarily on the unity of Malaysia, and they dealt with local plays and stories, local history and geography, Malayan songs, and the cultures of the various racial groups. The following table shows the number of schools listening to school broadcasts, by language stream, in 1959.

Table II-6

Schools Listening to School Broadcasts: Malaya and Singapore, 1959[76]

Level of School	Language	Malaya	Singapore	Total
PRIMARY SCHOOL	Malay	1,009	42	1,051
	English	247	238	485
	Chinese	564	113	677
	Tamil	560	20	580
	TOTAL	2,308	413	2,793
SECONDARY SCHOOL	(English)	71	29	100
	TOTAL	2,541	442	2,893

[76] Report on Radio Development ..., p.22

In addition to these broadcasts to schools, a great many other educational materials were transmitted by both Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. In fact, general educational broadcasting has been actively utilized in Malaya, especially for adult education, since the organization of community listening for the penetration of government information into rural areas was first introduced in 1947. Such broadcasts included, for all language streams, adult education, women's programs, children's programs, and Malayan music programs. Radio Malaysia (Malaya) additionally had established in 1961 both a separate "Rural Broadcasting Service" and a special "Talks and Lectures Service." The Rural Broadcasting Unit was solely responsible for all rural and agricultural matters which were broadcast. Programs by this special unit, which were prepared in close cooperation with the Ministry of Rural Development, were broadcast 3 days a week with repeats on the same nights.[77] The function of the Talks and Features Service was to "write, organize, and produce spoken word programs ..."[78] These emphasized "ministerial talks, interviews with interesting personalities and international figures, as well as features depicting the peoples and cultures of Malaysia."[79] Additionally, the Talks and Features Service maintained an exchange program for broadcasts from such overseas radio organizations as United Nations Radio, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, the Japanese N.H.K. Radio, and others.[80]

Singapore's educational materials understandably were much less rurally oriented than were Malaya's, and included regular and frequent "informative" talks, periodic radio courses on various specific subjects, and weekly discussion programs.

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77 Report on Radio Development ..., p.7

78 Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 13.

79 Ibid., p. 13.

80 Ibid., p. 13.

Wired Broadcasting

Wired broadcasting, or rediffusion as it is called in Singapore and Malaya, began in Singapore in 1949. In Malaya it was introduced to Kuala Lumpur in 1948, to Penang in 1953, and to Ipoh and Butterworth (across the straits from Penang) late in 1964. Rediffusion, Limited, a private company operating under government franchise, maintains separate branch offices in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. In each city in which it maintains services, it distributes programs from its main studios to a number of substations over lines rented from the electric companies, and then from these substations lays its own wires to reach speakers installed for the use of individual subscribers. Revenues were derived from a monthly rental fee of M $5.00 as well as from commercial advertising, which was accepted for broadcasts up to a certain limited extent at almost all times of the day.

By 1965, Rediffusion (Singapore), Limited, had installed nearly 13,000,000 feet of its own wires (approximately 2,500 miles) in Singapore, has connected more than 53,000 loudspeakers, and claimed approximately 47,000 subscribers.[81] This number of subscriptions was considered to be approaching the saturation level for wired broadcasting in Singapore, despite the fact that nearly all Housing and Development Board complexes and certain other housing estate programs were being wired at the time of their construction, and between 1962 and 1965 subscription statistics remained at approximately that level. Rediffusion (Malaya), Limited similarly remained fairly static in the vicinity of 27,000 subscriptions during the same period.[82] (Following the extension of service to Butterworth and Ipoh, however, subscriptions in Malaya jumped from 28,700 in 1965 to over 75,000 in 1966 and 104,500 in 1967[83]).

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81 Report on Radio Development ..., p. 6, and Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 211.

82 Federation of Malaysia, Annual Bulletin of Statistics, 1965, (Government Printing Office, Kuala Lumpur, 1966), p. 32, Table 6.6.

83 Ibid., for 1967, p. 37, Table 6.6.

The rediffusion services in both Malaya and Singapore originated programs in their own studios — mainly live performances or "disc jockey" style productions — and relayed approximately 25 hours per week of programs and news from Radio Malaysia facilities. Additionally, they maintained an interchange of programs on magnetic tapes from other rediffusion stations, especially the one in Hong Kong, and relayed programs from BBC and other broadcasting services.

Subscribers to wired broadcasting had a choice of two networks, which were transmitted simultaneously. In Singapore one channel, known as the Gold Network, was entirely in Chinese (mainly Mandarin, Cantonese, Foochow, and Hainanese) and the other, known as the Silver Network, was in English, Malay, Mandarin, and Cantonese. These two channels operated daily from 6:00 a.m. to 12:00 midnight. The following table shows weekly hours of broadcasting by language stream for Rediffusion (Singapore), Limited, in 1962.

Table II-7

Broadcasting by Rediffusion (Singapore), Limited: 1962[84]

Language	Hours Per Week
Malay	7.5
English	82
Chinese	163.25
TOTAL	252.75
Average per Day	36

Music recording made up approximately 60 percent of the programs of both networks in Singapore,[85] and news broadcasting was comparatively limited:

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[84] Report on Radio Development ..., p. 6.

[85] In Singapore in particular this music was weighted toward recordings of live itinerant Chinese theatrical performances of which the Rediffusion Record Library has an immense and unique archive.

in addition to occasional relaying of Radio Malaysia newscasts, Rediffusion (Singapore), Limited, edited and broadcast one Chinese news program per day in each of the four dialects. Comparable data for Rediffusion (Malaya), Limited, are not currently available, but it is known that programming was less heavily weighted toward Chinese language stream broadcasting, and that some programs were broadcast in Tamil.

Rediffusion programs are reported to be very popular, sometimes even more so that those of Radio Malaysia, particularly among the Chinese.[86]

Other Radio Broadcasting Facilities in Malaya and Singapore

The British Broadcasting Corporation's Far Eastern Station is headquartered in Singapore, and although most of its transmissions are aimed primarily at audiences outside Malaya, programs are carried in English, Malay, Tamil, Cantonese, amd Mandarin (as well as in 8 other languages), and consequently are available for domestic consumption. Some of the programs of the Far Eastern Service originate in Singapore, while many others are BBC relays. All of the Far Eastern Service's transmission is in short-wave and broadcasts are beamed across the wide area from Iran to Japan.

Additionally, in 1965 the British Armed Forces operated a British government-owned 7.5 kilowatt, short-wave transmitter in Singapore, which broadcast to Commonwealth troops stationed in Malaysia. This station was on the air on the average of 3.25 hours daily. Slightly more than half of the programs broadcast were in English and served mainly to transmit "news form home" to the troops; the other half were in a variety of languages, such as Fijian, Gurkali, and Kishwahili, which would make them unsuitable for general consumption. The following table lists the British broadcasting stations in Singapore as of 1963.

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86 Area Handbook ..., p. 411.

Table II-8

British Broadcasting Facilities: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[87]

Station Name and Location	Frequency (kc)	Power (kw)
Armed Forces Broadcasting Service, Singapore	5010	7.5
BBC Far Eastern Station, Singapore	7110, 7135, 9555, 9690, 11750, 11775 11820, 11840, 11955, 15260, 15310, 15420, 15435, 21610	10-100

Radio Audience

The size of the radio audience in Malaya and Singapore is usually estimated from the number of radio licenses issued annually. Because radio broadcasting facilities are government-owned, licensing of all radio receivers is required by law as a tax-collection measure. There are a number of factors militating against the accuracy of this indicator, however, and some of them are sufficiently subjective or lacking in hard data to make any attempt at a high confidence assessment of radio audience size an extremely risky undertaking. These factors include:

(1) More than one radio receiver may be licensed under one license. Consequently, the number of licenses issued may be considerably fewer than the number of receivers actually in use.

(2) The annual license fee is M$12 (U.S. $4), and the general consensus among all observers is that license evasion is high. One estimate suggests, for example, that in Singapore and southern Malaya in 1959 there were as many as 3 evasions for every 1 license issued.[88]

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87 Area Handbook ..., p.412

88 From an estimate by Radio Singapore, as reported in "Overseas Audience Research Report: ...", p. 3.

The problems attendant to this as well as the previous factor are considerably exacerbated by the increasing popularity and functionality of small transistor sets.

(3) Gross statistics on licenses issued do not reflect the impact on radio audience size of community or group listening. This factor is relevant in several ways. In Malaya, for example, more than 2,000 transistor receivers were installed in community halls throughout the rural, predominantly Malay, regions of the country between 1962 and 1965 as part of the larger national five-year rural development program.[89] The impact of these and other similar installations remains unmeasurable with currently available data. Similarly, the impact of receivers in public or commercial establishments remains impossible to estimate. A case in point would be the near ubiquity of receivers — which seem always to be blaring loudly — in Chinese coffee shops. And finally, consideration of possible differences in ethnically defined propensity to group listening remains a matter for speculation. Some observers seem to have suggested, for example, a tendency toward group listening in rural Malay kampongs.[90]

(4) Finally, beginning with the advent of television in 196[illegible] it became possible to obtain a joint TV/radio license. Licenses solely for television were not issued. This had the effect between 1963 and 1965 of substantially reducing the number of radio licenses which were issued.[91] While this factor can, in any superficial analysis, be compensated for by simply adding together the number of radio and TV/radio licenses issued and assuming this to be a gross estimation of the number of radio licenses which would have been issued if television had not been introduced, the impact of television on either the extent or intensity of radio listening cannot be similarly assessed.

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89 Report on Radio and Development..., p. 9.

90 Area Handbook..., p. 410.

91 The trend for radio was up again by 1966.

Having noted this rather dismal set of caveats, it is tempting to suggest that nothing can be validly said about the size of the radio audience in Malaya and Singapore. Bearing in mind that data are sparse and that informed guesses frequently are only slightly better than no data at all, the following text and tables are offered to provide a few flickering guidelights into the morass.

At the most general and subjective level, it can be observed that while relatively little is known about specific listener tastes, it is commonly acknowledged that the various ethnic communities show clear preferences for programs in their own languages and cultural frames of reference. The one exception to this, as is illustrated in the following table, is with regard to English, which serves as the second most listened-to language stream for all the ethnic communities.

Table II-9

Radio Language of Choice by Race: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[92]

(Percentage of Relevant Group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)

Language	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total — all races
Weighted Sample	1220	1508	341	85	3134
Total Listeners	845	1004	256	78	2183
Malay	93	a	1	-	42
Hokkien	-	14	-	-	5
Teochow	-	6	-	-	2
Cantonese	-	26	-	-	10
Hakka	-	1	-	-	a
Mandarin	a	15	-	1	7
Tamil	a	-	72	1	9
Other Indian	-	-	10	1	1
English	6	35	18	97	22

92 Far East Research Organization, Ltd., "Exposure to Advertising Media in Malaya," 1963, Table 3.1. This survey is based on a total sample of 2560 respondents from throughout Malaya and Singapore. The table presented here summarizes responses to the question, "What one language program do you normally tune to?" Hereafter referred to as "Exposure to Advertising Media...".

Similarly, all ethnic communities would appear to prefer programs of music or programs of local interest, although the separate communities seem to rank order their preferences somewhat differently. One survey conducted in 1959, for example, summarized one segment of its findings as follows: "Popular music is the staple diet of radio listeners in both areas, and this seemed to be true of all social classes... informational, educational, and cultural programs simply did not get much attention from listeners."[93] This conclusion receives support from evidence such as that presented in the following table, also reflecting the results of the 1959 survey, which orders preferences for different kinds of programs by ethnic group in Singapore.

Table II-10

Program Preferences: Singapore, 1959[94]

	Total All Races	Chinese	Malays	Indians
Popular Songs	1	1	1	2
Record Request Programs	2	2	2 1/2	1
News Bulletins	3	3	2 1/2	3
Talks, Discussions, Stories	4	5	7	4
Sports Programs	5	7	4	7
Western Popular Music	6	6	8	9
Children's Programs	7	8	5 1/2	5
Chinese Plays	8	4	-	13
Political Commentary	9	9	9	6
Women's Programs	10	11	5 1/2	8
Western Classical Music	11	10	11	11 1/2
Western Plays	12	12	12	10
Magazine Programs	13	13	10	11 1/2

Not only do the different ethnic groups order their preferences for programming somewhat differently, there also appears to be a tendency for the various groups to listen to the radio to differing degrees.

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93 "Overseas Audience Research Report ...", p. 1.

94 Ibid., p. 8.

This is reflected in table II-11, which summarizes responses to a Malaya-Singapore sample survey taken in 1963. These data are derived from questions relating to listening to the radio in the respondent's own household, and therefore do not reflect whatever impact group or public listening might have had.

Table II-11

Radio Listening in Own Household by Race: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[95]

(Percentage of Relevant Group)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Other	Total All Races
Weighted Sample	1220	1508	341	85	3134
Listen in Household	69	67	75	92	70
Do not Listen in Household	29	33	25	8	30

Leaving aside such subjective and difficult considerations as ethnic or cultural predispositions toward listening to the radio, a number of factors can be seen as influencing the tendency, in whatever degree it might exist, of different ethnic groups having differential rates of radio listening. These include, for example, differing aggregate per capita income levels between groups, differing occupational predispositions (e.g. farming vs. shop keeping), differing primary areas of residence (e.g. urban vs. rural), differing average sizes of households, and even differing age and sex ratio structures. Reliable data to verify the explanatory value of each of these factors are currently unavailable. Nonetheless the two following tables are presented as being suggestive of potentially useful lines for future inquiry.

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95 "Exposure to Advertising Media...," Table 2.1.

Table II-12

Households with Radios, by Income Group: Malaya, 1965[96]

Income Group	Households with Radio
0-M$150/month	35%
M$151- 300/month	57%
M$301-500/month	79%
M$501+/month	83%

Table II-13

Radio Listening, by Age Group: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[97]

(Percentage of Relevant Group)

	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	61+	Total All Ages
Weighted Sample	161	835	1516	567	55	3134
Listen in Own Household	60	64	72	75	75	70
Do not Listen	40	36	28	25	25	30

There appear to be similar geographical differences in the extent of radio listening. The factors accounting for this apparent situation must remain partially a matter for speculation, but such measures as the length and intensity of radio penetration, the degree of urbanization, the level of economic activity, and the ethnic composition of each area probably are relevant.

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96 Based on a survey conducted in 1965 for Radio Malaysia and reported in Ini-lah Radio Malaysia, p. 18.

97 "Exposure to Advertising Media...," Table 2.3.

Table II-14

Radio Listening by State: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[98]

(Percentage of Relevant Group)

	Singapore	Selangor	Penang	Kedah and Perlis	Malacca	Johore	Negri Sembilan	Perak	Pahang	Kelantan	Trengganu	Total
Weighted Sample	543	351	252	166	74	179	82	527	72	88	80	3,134
Listen to Radio in Household	76	79	56	67	47	78	28	67	51	91	69	70
Don't Listen to Radio in Household	24	21	44	33	53	22	72	33	49	9	31	30

The following table, summarizing one question from a 1965 Singapore Sample Survey[99], similarly indicates a number of considerations — the obvious ones relating to race and to general socio-economic status — which affect the rate of radio listening. The question asked here was, "How often do you listen to the radio?", and apparently no effort was made to factor out extra-household listening, as in the tables which have just been presented. Similarly, it should be remarked in interpreting this table that the data it contains applies only to Singapore. The extent to which this fact affects (or explains) the differences between this table and Tables II-11 and II-13 is impossible to determine.

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98 "Exposure to Advertising Media ...," Table 2.6

99 Adopted from Survey Research Malaysia, World Survey III: Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, (Kuala Lumpur: September 1965), Table 106b. (Hereafter referred to as World Survey III: ... .

Table II-15

Radio Listening: Singapore, 1965[100]

Frequency	Total (509)	Sex M (255)	Sex F (254)	Age <25 (80)	Age 25/39 (197)	Age >39 (232)	Education Nil (237)	Education Primary (141)	Education Secondary (131)	Class Lower/Middle (224)	Class Middle/Upper (285)	Race Malay (76)	Race Chinese (396)	Race Indian (24)
Every day	43	52	35	56	48	35	23	57	66	41	46	71	36	67
Several times/ week	11	11	10	11	11	10	11	10	11	8	12	11	11	8
1/week	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	0
1-2/ month	2	3	2	0	3	3	2	4	2	3	2	1	3	0
less	20	17	24	18	21	21	24	19	14	21	20	8	22	25
never	21	15	27	10	15	29	35	9	7	23	19	5	25	0
don't know	2	2	2	4	1	2	4	0	0	4	0	1	2	0

Another consideration affecting the exact nature of radio listening has to do with the extent to which transmissions eminating from outside of Malaya and Singapore are listened to. The 1959 Survey previously cited concluded that 90% of the sets found in homes where interviews were conducted in Singapore and Johore Bahru had short wavebands, and that there was considerable interest in listening to foreign short wave stations. Three-quarters of this particular sample in Singapore said they listened to programs on short wave (90% of the Malays, 71% of the Chinese, and 94% of the Indians), and in Johore Bahru the comparable figures were 84% of the Malays and 52% of the Chinese.[101]

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[100] Adopted from Survey Research Malaysia, World Survey III: Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, (Kuala Lumpur: September 1965), Table 106b.

[101] "Overseas Audience Research Report:...," p. 17.

Both the utility and validity of these figures might be called into question on several counts. The Chinese in the survey cited were reportedly extremely reluctant to provide information regarding their foreign radio listening habits, and it therefore probably can be assumed that at that time the correct figures were somewhat higher than those cited. Moreover, the survey under consideration does not seem to have discriminated between listening to short wave broadcasts emanating from outside of Malaya and Singapore and those which originated from the short wave broadcasting facilities of Radio Malaya or of Radio Singapore. It will be remembered that Radio Malaya's medium wave facilities were inadequate to the needs of the country at that time, and that considerable reliance was therefore placed on short wave transmission. Similarly, cheap medium wave transistor sets had not yet achieved a big market in 1959, and with the increasing availability of such sets (combined with expanded medium wave facilities) it would seem logically defensible to suggest that short wave listening would, over time, be increasingly supplanted by medium wave listening.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that large numbers of receiving sets with short wave capability are in use in Malaya and Singapore, and that the region lies within receiving range of a number of short wave transmitting facilities located in other countries. By 1965 these facilities included Radio Australia (which in 1959 broadcast 19 hours a day in English and 2 hours a day in Mandarin); British Broadcasting Corporation (1/2 hour in Mandarin, 1/4 hour in Cantonese, 3/4 hour in Malay and Indonesian, 8 hours in English, and additional hours in Tamil); Voice of America (10 hours in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Amoy, 9 hours in English and additional hours in Malay, Indonesian, and Tamil); RRI Indonesia; All India Radio; Radio Peking; Radio Ceylon; Radio Taiwan, Radio Philippines; and Moscow Radio.[102]

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102 "Overseas Audience Research Report: ...," pp 9-10

No current data are available to the author regarding either the extent to which these stations are listened to within Malaya and Singapore or their relative popularity among the various ethnic groups. Each group clearly would be more inclined toward those stations which either transmitted news from their homelands or broadcast in their predominant language stream: That is, it seems logical to suspect that, insofar as they listened to foreign short wave broadcasts at all, Malays would be inclined toward RRI Indonesia and Radio Philippines; Indians, toward All India Radio and Radio Ceylon; and Chinese, toward Radio Peking and Radio Taiwan. The situation with respect to the other foreign short wave stations remains less clear. As indicated in the following table, however, in Singapore in 1959 the BBC had its biggest audience among the Indians, the Voice of America had its biggest among the Chinese, and Radio Australia divided fairly evenly.

Table II-16

Listening Regularity to Selected Foreign Stations: Singapore, 1959[103]

(Percentage of Relevant Group)

	Malay (100)	Chinese (550)	Indian (100)	Total All Races (750)
BBC	11	31	39	29
VOA	6	34	25	29
Radio Australia	28	37	38	35.5

A final consideration affecting the exact nature of radio listening relates to the differences in time preferences among the various ethnic groups. Once again it is necessary to refer to 1959 data, which is the most current available; in this instance, however, there is less rea-

103 "Overseas Audience Research Report: ...," p.9

son tc suspect significant changes over time than probably is the case with respect to listening to short wave broadcasts. In Singapore in 1959 there was not a good deal of listening in the homes in the morning except by the Malay population. Mid-day listening also was not very high with the primary exception being among the Indian community. Evening listening appears to have started fairly early (around 5:00 p.m.), and the peak periods for all communities was between 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Listening remained fairly high between 9:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. and then dropped off rapidly among all groups except the Chinese, who continued to listen to 11:00 p.m. Among the Malays there appeared to be little listening in the mornings and during the day time, and their listening was heavily concentrated between 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. The Indians peaked during the noon hours and during the evenings, and the Chinese appeared to listen considerably more regularly throughout the entire day.[104]

The listening trends in southern Malaya (Johore Bahru) in 1959 were roughly comparable to those in Singapore, with the two exceptions that the Malay community appeared to listen to radio comparatively more during mid-day and that evening listening hours appeared to start rather earlier (around 4:30 p.m.) than in Singapore.[105]

Within the context of the various factors noted above, it now becomes relevant to turn once again to a consideration of the overall gross amount of radio listening in Malaya and Singapore.

It has been noted above that radio listeners in Malaya and Singapore are required by law to obtain licenses annually. While bearing in mind the inherent difficulties in estimating the extent of radio listenership on this basis, the following table provides at least a preliminary approximation to the growth in the number of households containing one or more receivers over the twenty-year period between 1947 and 1967.

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104 "Overseas Audience Research Report: ...," p.6

105 Ibid., p. 15.

Table II-17

Radio Licenses Issued: Malaya and Singapore, 1947-1967.[106]

(Rounded to nearest hundred)

	MALAYA			SINGAPORE		
Year	Radio	Radio/TV	Rediffusion	Radio	Radio/TV	Rediffusion
1947	10,200[a]	----	----	N.A.	----	----
1949	35,000[a]	----	----	N.A.	----	N.A.
1950	48,600[a]	----	4,900[a]	41,000[b]	----	13,000[b]
1953	110,800[a]	----	11,000[a]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1956	157,500[a]	----	14,900[a]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1957	175,700[a]	----	12,100[a]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1958	172,400[a]	----	12,600[a]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1959	211,100[a]	----	13,100[a]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1960	226,800[a,c]	----	14,200[a]	142,000[b]	----	47,000[b]
1961	264,800[a,c]	----	27,200[c]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1962	309,800[a,c] 325,000[d]	----	28,000[c]	105,014	----	52,500[a,e]
1963	325,800[a,c]	----	27,600[c]	N.A.	----	N.A.
1964	324,400[c] 329,800[a]	28,000[b]	24,700[c]	88,000[f] 81,800[g]	45,800[f] 55,000[g]	N.A.
1965	304,200[c,d]	53,400[b,d]	28,700[c]	77,700[f,g]	63,000[b,f,g]	46,600[f]
1966	285,400[c]	67,000[h]	75,300[c]	80,600[g,h]	84,000[g]	47,300[i]
1967	319,030[c]	N.A.	104,500[c]	79,300[j] 80,600[g]	98,200[j] 96,600[g]	48,100[j]

106
a. UNESCO, Report on Radio..., p. 19.
b. UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1966, Table 8.2.
c. Federation of Malaysia, Annual Bulletin of Statistics, 1965, Table 6.6.
d. Malaysia Year Book, 1965, p. 464.
e. Communications Fact Book..., p. 38.
f. Republic of Singapore, Facts and Figures, 1966, p. 50.
g. Republic of Singapore, Monthly Digest of Statistics, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February 1969, p. 101.
h. World Radio and Television Handbook, 1967, p. 302.
i. Personal letter from Ministry of Culture, Singapore, To the author, dated November 24, 1967.
j. Republic of Singapore, Facts and Figures, 1968, p. 58.

These figures are undoubtedly considerably less than the total number of radio receivers actually in use, and they provide even less reliable indicators of the numbers of people who listen regularly to radio. As noted above, multiple sets can be licensed on one license; license evasion, particularly with the advent of cheap, small transistor sets, is probably quite high; and group or public listening is not taken into account. However, it is possible, at least for Malaya, to arrive at a somewhat more realistic assessment of the total number of receivers actually in use than the figures for licenses issued would indicate. This can be done by taking account of the number of radio receivers imported into Malaya over a specified period of time and subtracting from this the number of sets exported out of Malaya during the comparable period. The following table, which somewhat arbitrarily employs a 1959 base point of 211,100 receivers, estimates on this basis the number of radio receivers in use in Malaya through the years 1960-1963.

Table II-18

Estimated Radio Receivers in Use: Malaya, 1960-1963[107]

Year	At beginning of year	Added during year	Total at end of year	(Licenses issued)
1960	211,100	86,800	297,900	(226,800)
1961	297,900	112,700	410,600	(264,800)
1962	410,600	120,600	531,200	(309,800)
1963	531,200	139,800	671,000	(325,800)

The actual number of radio receivers in use in Malaya is thus much larger than the number of licenses issued annually might suggest. Some deduction will, of course, have to be made to account for some very old sets which might have gone out of use. In any case it can be safely assumed that the total number of radio receivers in use in the

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[107] Adopted from Report on Radio Development..., p. 10.

Federation of Malaya by the end of 1963 was in excess of 650,000 and that this figure was increasing at what appeared to be an accelerating rate.

Comparable approximations are difficult to derive for Singapore due to the fact that large numbers of radio receivers imported into Singapore are taken out by visitors and tourists as personal baggage and such exports are not reported in the export statistics. By the end of 1963, however, representatives of radio importers estimated that there were about 300,000 receivers in Singapore.[108] As Table II-19 will suggest, this figure represents the highest density of listeners in Southeast Asia; estimations of radio audience jumped from 990,000 in 1959[109] to 1,663,300 in 1962[110], and it was anticipated that by 1965 almost the entire population of Singapore (approximately 1,900,000) would be covered by radio listening[111].

High confidence assessments comparing the density of radio receivers in Malaya and Singapore with other developing countries, specifically countries in Asia, are equally difficult to derive. Varying criteria for estimating radio listenership are employed, figures frequently refer to different time contexts, and all of the caveats outlined on pages 55-57 above have relevance. Within this context, the following table can provide only a first approximation to the comparative development of radio as a means of mass communication in Asia. This table, which is adopted from a UNESCO source employs varying criteria — including adjusted estimates foom licenses issued and official governmental guesstimates — to arrive at figures for the number of radio receivers in use throughout Asia at approximately 1965. The UNESCO figures for Malaya appear to be based on numbers of licenses issued (although the figures bear only a tenuous relationship to those

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108 Adopted from Report on Radio Development, p. 10

109 "Overseas Audience Research Report:...," p. 5.

110 World Survey III:..., p. 7.

111 Report on Radio Development..., p. 10.

presented in table II-17). Similarly, the UNESCO data on Singapore appear to be based on licenses issued, but in this case on a cumulation of radio and combined radio/TV licenses. As a result of this confusion, two sets of data for Malaya and Singapore are presented in the following table: (a) the UNESCO data, and (b) data derived from the preceeding paragraphs. In interpreting this table, it must be borne in mind that the potential for significant error exists.

Table II-19

Number of Radio Receivers in Use: Countries of Asia, 1965.[112]

Country		Population	Radio Receivers	Receivers/100 Population
Malaya	(a)	7,500,000	322,123	4.29
	(b)	8,000,000	650,000	8.1
Singapore	(a)	1,800,000	148,000	8.2
	(b)	1,928,000	300,000(1963)	15.56
Afganistan		13,800,000	40,000	.29
Burma		24,200,000	256,852	1.06
Cambodia		6,000,000	300,000	5
Ceylon		10,600,000	619,000	3.93
China (Taiwan)		12,430,000	1,270,126	10.21
India		440,000,000	4,315,242	.4
Indonesia		96,000,000	823,000	.9
Iran		22,500,000	1,600,000	7.1
Japan		98,000,000	19,982,835	20.4
Korea		27,800,000	1,379,934	4.9
Laos		4,000,000	50,000	1.25
Mongolia		937,000	25,000	2.3
Nepal		9,500,000	40,000	.42
Pakistan		98,600,000	871,000	.8
Philippines		30,200,000	1,225,000	4
Thailand		30,000,000	1,610,000	5.3
Vietnam		14,000,000	150,000	1.1

[112] Adopted from UNESCO, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, #49, "Radio and Television in the Service of Education and Development in Asia", 1966, p. 30.

Section 2: TELEVISION BROADCASTING

Facilities

Television service was first introduced in Singapore in February 1963 and in Kuala Lumpur on December 28, 1963. With one possible exception in Singapore, which will be noted below, these services are similar to radio broadcasting facilities in that they are government owned and operated and are consciously concerned with furthering governmental objectives through their coverage of wide aspects of community service and entertainment. Prior to the split between Malaysia and Singapore in 1965, television services were administered in a fashion similar to that of Radio Malaysia: ultimate control was theoretically a federal matter, but the Terms of Agreement for the formation of Malaysia had not addressed the specific nature of this control and as a consequence real control continued to rest with the appropriate department of each state government. In Malaya, television broadcasting (Talivishen Malaysia) fell within the portfolio of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, who administered the service as a separate department; in Singapore, both the television services (Television Singapore) and the radio services were administered by the Broadcasting Division of the Ministry of Culture. As was the case with radio broadcasting, there existed very little coordination or cooperation in television broadcasting between Singapore and Malaya. Linkages were theoretically possible through facilities provided by the Telecommunications Department in Malaya -- which was in charge of all the transmitters in Malaya maintained by Talivishen Malaya -- but these do not seem to have been utilized to any great extent.

Television broadcasting was still very much in its early developmental stages in both Singapore and Malaya in 1965. Construction of adequate permanent studio facilities for both broadcasting centers had not yet been completed, and in Malaya transmitting facilities were still able to provide coverage to only a limited number of the major urban centers of the western region of the country; due to Singapore's small size and

urban concentration reasonably complete coverage was at least theoretically possible with the completion of Television Singapura's first two transmitting facilities at Bukit Batok in the center of the island. Extension of coverage beyond Kuala Lumpur and its immediate environs appeared to be Talivishen Malaysia's highest priority between 1963 and at least 1965, and by the latter date television transmitters were in operation providing limited service to the areas noted in the following table. Work was in progress at that time on a transmitting facility which would provide very limited service covering the area around Kota Bahru on the East Coast and plans had been made to add second sets of transmitters at each of the West Coast areas noted below, which would increase from one to two the number of channels available to viewers in each of these areas.

Table II-20

Television Stations: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[113]

Service Area	Transmitting Station Site	Effective Radiated Power
Kuala Lumpur & Suburbs	Bukit Sungei Besi	100 kw
Ipoh	Gunong Kledang	100 kw
Malacca	Gunong Tampin	100 kw
Penang & Kedah	Kedah Peak	100 kw
Johore Bahru & S.W. Johore	Gunong Pulai	100 kw
Taiping	Maxwell Hill	500 W
Kluang	Mangkibol Hill	500 W
Batu Pahat	Bukit Banang	1 kw
Singapore	Bukit Batok (w/ 2 VHF transmitters)	36 kw

113 Malaysia Year Book, 1965, p. 469.

There were three television channels operating in Singapore by mid-1965. Two of these, channels 5 and 8, were government owned and operated, and the third, the Rannee TV Corporation, was reportedly operated by a private company under government franchise. Aside from the fact that this latter corporation was reported to have begun operations in 1964[114], no further information regarding its operations has yet become available. As noted, each area which had television in Malaya was serviced by only one channel in 1965, although additional facilities were planned. All channels in both Malaya and Singapore were broadcasting on limited schedules. In Singapore, Channel 5 transmitted for 5.5 hours daily (from 6:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.), and Channel 8 broadcast for 4 hours daily (from 6:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.). On weekends and holidays Channel 5 extended its hours of broadcasting to 10.5 hours per day (from 1:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.).[115] The total number of hours broadcast per week by Television Singapura thus was 76.5, although this figure frequently was exceeded when, owing to special circumstances, extensions of transmission hours on both channels were made. In Malaya, programs were broadcast via each of the 8 transmitters which were in operation in the country for an average of 5.5 hours per day. These hours were extended on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, bringing the total number of broadcasting hours to 46 per week; as with Singapore, these hours were further extended as special occasions necessitated.

Programming

Even more so than with radio broadcasting, the area's complex linguistic and ethnic makeup presented television broadcasting with a series of unique and complex problems. These problems were compounded by the limited television facilities which were available during the early developmental period,[116] and these limited facilities in turn dictated a different

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114 Variety, June 23, 1965, p. 53; Area Handbook..., p. 412.

115 Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 208.

116 In 1965, both Malaya and Singapore were operating out of temporary facilities, with new and more adequate structures scheduled for completion in 1967 and 1966 respectively.

set of solutions to the problems than had been the case with radio broadcasting. In television, for example, it was impossible to have separate language programming on separate channels as was the case with radio, and this simple and inescapable fact forced a fuller integration of linguistic stream broadcasting than previously had existed with radio or, for that matter, with any other mass media. Not only did the existing channels have to attempt program planning which was designed more specifically to appeal to a relatively undifferentiated multi-lingual audience, but the same channels had to allocate their broadcasting time in a fashion which would provide a semblance of balanced transmission for each separate ethnic/linguistic group.

Several different means were used in an attempt to achieve these ends. In the first place, the number of hours of broadcasting in each language stream was allocated according to a strict percentage formula. Despite the fact that Singapore's population was well over 75% Chinese, for example, only 35% of television Singapore's primary live audio was in Chinese, while 35% was in English, another 20% was in Malay, and the remaining 10% was in Tamil.[117] Comparable figures for Talivishen Malaysia are not currently available, although it is clear that some kind of time allocation formula also was employed there.

Similarly, it appears that a concerted effort was made, particularly in Singapore, to provide simultaneous broadcasting of two, and even three, languages for the same program. This was accomplished by carrying live audio in one language, providing sub-titles in a second language, and broadcasting yet a third language on medium wave radio – at 219 meters broadcasting frequency. This arrangement allowed for a wide variety of language combinations: "for example, a Chinese program could be given a spoken introduction in Tamil, the screen sub-title in English and the second sound channel narration in Malay."[118] Although Talivishen Malaysia

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117 Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 209.

118 Singapore Year Book, 1964, p. 230.

did not have the capability in 1965 to provide supplemental radio transmission of alternate language streams for television programs, it did maintain an active sub-title section which permitted frequent broadcasting of the same program simultaneously in two languages, one audio and one visual.

At the same time that Television Singapura was transmitting the same program simultaneously in several languages, it additionally was consciously attempting to ensure that there would be no simultaneous duplication of the same primary live audio language or of program content on both channels. If Channel 5 transmitted an Indian musical program, for example, then Channel 8 might transmit something like a Chinese film drama. Such programming considerations were not yet of concern in Malaya in 1965, as only one channel was available in each viewing area.

Finally, both Malaya and Singapore — and particularly the former — attempted to produce live programs with multi-racial appeal. Insofar as was possible, the emphasis in both areas was on local, live productions, comedy, and cartoons.[119] In Malaya nearly 50 percent of the total air-time broadcasting was produced "live" in the studio,[120] with heavy emphasis being placed on local talent. This not only was in line with official governmental policy of encouraging the development of local talents and, more importantly, of promoting a "Malaysian" culture, it also provided a means by which a multi-racial audience could be catered to most appropriately: live talent programs featuring representatives from all ethnic streams have a "something for everyone" quality about them which makes them more acceptable to all viewers. Television Singapura devoted considerably less air time to locally produced live programs than did Talivishen Malaysia — between 20 and 40 percent for Singapore[121]

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119 Area Handbook..., p. 412.

120 Malaysia Year Book, 1965, p. 468.

121 Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 209.

as opposed to nearly 50 percent for Malaya —, but these official figures are open to some question, as it is not made clear exactly what is considered in each case to constitute such programming. Whether or not news broadcasting is considered in both instances to be live programming, for instance, is not specified. Nonetheless, a superficial, subjective, and highly unreliable impression gained by the author in early and mid-1964 was that whereas Malayan television devoted considerable energy and time to the production of local programs of the talent show variety, Singapore relied much more heavily on broadcasting simultaneously in multiple languages a wide a variety of imported film programs. This was at least partially attributable to the less adequate studio facilities in Singapore, which in 1965 consisted only of two relatively small studios, the larger of which was gutted by fire on August 15, 1965. It was anticipated, however, that with the completion of Singapore's new television complex in 1966 the percentage of live broadcasting would be raised considerably.

In addition to programs produced in the studios or, occasionally, in Singapore's National Theatre or Cultural Center specifically for television transmission, other locally produced films also were broadcast as and when they became available. In particular, Filem Negara Malaysia (Malayan Film Unit — MFU) films,[122] materials from the respective Ministries of Information/Culture, and locally produced commercial films frequently were used to fill time slots. In Singapore approximately 30 percent of all commercial films shown on television were from local sources, and were mainly Chinese, Hindi, and Tamil films.[123]

Syndicated services provided the bulk of the non-locally produced films and other materials which were transmitted by both Malaya and Singapore. The great majority of these materials had come from either the

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[122] See below, p. 84.

[123] Singapore Year Book, 1965, pp. 208-209.

United States or Great Britain, although British films tended to predominate due to the fact that they were generally less expensive than were American films.[124] Additionally, film materials supplied by Foreign Embassies and Commissions — most frequently by the United States Information Service[125] — were telecast to fill time gaps in local production, whenever they were available.

News programs were telecast in each of the four predominant languages. In contrast to radio broadcasting, however, television news transmission received comparatively less emphasis. In Malaya, 10-minute news slots in Malay, English, Chinese, and Tamil, covering both world and local items, were broadcast once daily. In addition, a longer separate daily news program called "World Round Up," which included more extensive coverage of recent world events and which presumably was transmitted in either Malay or English, was also produced, as was a shorter general news roundup for transmission late in the evening five times a week. In Singapore, a daily 10-minute news bulletin was broadcast each evening in each of the four languages. On four days each week, the news bulletins in Chinese and English were followed by a 10-minute newsreel, while such newsreels (which usually had been imported from the United States, The United Kingdom, or Hong Kong) were broadcast following news bulletins in Malay and Tamil twice each week. Two 10-minute slots each Saturday and Sunday afternoon also were allocated for news broadcasts. In addition, the News Section of Television Singapura occasionally produced special programs and documentaries. Both Malaya's and Singapore's television news services subscribed to such international news agencies as Reuters, Associated Press and VIS News.

Television services in Malaya appear to have preceeded Singapore in utilizing the medium for educational purposes. In early 1965,

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124 Area Handbook..., p. 413.

125 Ibid., p. 412.

Talivishen Malaysia organized a pilot project on educational television, which consisted of 10 one-half hour lessons in Form II science, telecast to some 100 schools in Western Malaya. Plans had been made to double the number of lessons offered in 1966 and to then conduct a survey to assess the usefulness of the project. In the meantime, and in addition to this pilot project on educational television, the Malayan service was devoting approximately eight hours each week to programs intended to "serve national development"; these programs dealt with rural development (3.25 hours), health and hygiene (0.75 hours), literacy teaching (1.25 hours), civics (0.75 hours), and arts and sciences (2 hours).[126] Comparable specific data on the role of educational television in Singapore in 1965 is not currently available, although Singapore's similar interest in using the mass media to further national development strongly suggests some similar programming allocation. It is known, however, that the Teacher's Training College in Singapore was nearing the completion of construction of two small television studios which were to be used both to originate closed-circuit transmission within the college campus as a part of the College's teacher training program and, more relevant for this report, to produce and record programs for transmission via Television Singapore's facilities to the Singapore school system. This program was to be run by Singapore's Ministry of Education, and was scheduled for inauguration in 1966.

One of the major problems facing television when it was first introduced — leaving aside the problem of inadequate physical plant development, which already has been discussed — was the lack of experienced technicians. This problem appears to have been at least partially solved during the years under consideration by a wholesale raid on the experienced personnel of the other mass media of the area, particularly radio personnel for their technical expertise and press personnel for their creative qualities. As is suggested in other sections of this report, "the birth and growth of television... resulted in a 'brain drain' from

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126 UNESCO, "Radio and Television in the Service of Education and Development in Asia, Loc. Cit., p. 2.

the staff of all newspapers — and from the government controlled radio — to the richer and more exciting field of television."[127] This exodus at least temporarily threatened the quality of these other media but, at the same time, provided television with people most qualified to get that media off to a good start. The longer term impact of this fact must necessarily remain a matter for speculation.

The implications of the necessity of attempting fuller integration of linguistic stream television transmission, and the consequences of the various methods employed to this end, need more thorough investigation than is possible in this report. Nonetheless, an interesting hypothesis does suggest itself. Given the fact that approximately the same set of objectives are defined for both national radio and national television (i.e. to assist in nation-building, to inculcate a spirit of patriotism and love for the country, to inform, educate and entertain listeners and viewers, etc.) it may possibly be that television could be a more potent medium for the inculcation of a "national spirit" in a Malaysian or Singaporean type of environment than would radio or the printed media. With both radio and the press it is possible to have what might be called semi-private communications via the mass media (i.e. communally oriented massages selectively disseminated only in certain language streams), but these would be infinitely more difficult with television, particularly so long as only relatively limited broadcasting facilities were available. The effect of bringing together various peoples through variety shows and other locally produced programs, of utilizing simultaneous language broadcasting for identical message units, of multiple audio and/or visual exposure to the various languages, and of sequentially transmitting on the same channel programs reflecting the values and preferences of each of the various ethnic communities all would seem to contain the potential of contributing to some degree of muting, through greater understanding, of some of the poten-

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127 United States Information Service, "Information Medium Report: Newspapers in Malaysia," August 18, 1965, pp. 2-3.

tial communally based tensions and conflicts which are endemic and probably inevitable in such societies.

Television Audience

Any assessment of the size or preferences of the television viewing audience in Malaya and Singapore must necessarily suffer from uncertainties of a magnitude approaching that which has been discussed with respect to radio audience. Moreover, the newness of the medium creates a situation in which few hard data of any kind are yet available. Although figures on the numbers of television sets in use undoubtedly are much more accurate than comparable data on radios, the impact of group or community viewing makes any reliable estimate of the numbers of people exposed to television broadcasting extremely difficult to obtain.

It can be noted, however, that television appears to have "caught on" in a big way very fast in both Malaya and Singapore. Less than a year after television's introduction, it was estimated that there were approximately 3500 sets in operation in Singapore with a total viewing audience of nearly 50,000 persons.[128] By the end of 1965, two years later, the number of sets in Singapore had grown nearly 20-fold, and a comparable explosion had occurred in Malaya. The following table from Table II-17, above, summarizes data on the number of radio/television licenses which were issued between 1964 and 1967 for both areas. Since license evasion was probably minimal (due to the fact that detection of unlicensed sets was much easier with television than with radio) and since households or businesses with more than one set were comparatively rare, it seems safe to assume that these figures represent reasonably reliable approximations to the number of sets actually in use.

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[128] Communications Fact Book..., p. 38, and Area Handbook..., p. 412.

Table II-21

Radio/Television Licenses Issued: Malaya and Singapore, 1964 - 1967[129]

	Malaya	Singapore
1964	28,000	45,900 - 55,000
1965	53,400	63,000
1966	67,000	84,000
1967	N.A.	96,600 - 98,200

That these data do not provide reliable indicators of the actual size of television viewing audiences should become clear when the impact of community or group viewing is taken into account. Such viewing quite clearly predominated when television was first introduced to both areas, and sets were particularly prominent in such public places as restaurants, bars, meeting houses, and electrical appliance shop windows. In Singapore, for example, an active program to place television sets in all community centers and at focal points in all the major housing development projects accompanied the first introduction of television. A similar public placement of sets also occurred in Malaya. Moreover, individual households possessing sets, particularly in the more crowded urban areas, frequently placed these sets where they would be more visible to passers-by (as a conspicuous sign of affluence?), and the author has personally observed innumerable instances when groups of people gathered at an open shop front (which served as the non-business hours living room for the family owning the business) or in front of an appliance store window to watch television in the evening.

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[129] See this report, Table II-17.

The extent to which there has been or might be a tendency toward privatization of viewing habits as television sets become increasingly abundant must remain a matter for speculation at this time. Similarly, it will not be possible here to present any high-reliability data on the extent of viewing or viewing preferences among varying segments of the society. The only data which is currently available to the author, taken from a sample survey conducted exclusively in Singapore in 1965, is presented in the following table. This table summarizes responses to the question, "How often, if at all, do you watch television?", and as a result makes no distinction between public, group viewing and viewing in the home. Despite this, and even taking into account the tentative nature of these data, it is noteworthy that just one-third of these people sampled claimed to watch television at least once a week.

Table II-22

Television Viewing: Singapore, 1965[130]

(percentage of relevant group)

		Sex		Age			Education			Class		Race		
Frequency	Total (509)	M (255)	F (254)	<25 (80)	25/39 (97)	>39 (232)	Nil (237)	Primary (141)	Secondary (131)	Lower/ Middle (224)	Middle/ Upper (285)	Malay (76)	Chinese (396)	Indian (24)
Every day	20	21	20	23	22	19	11	22	36	10	29	25	18	29
Several times/ week	9	11	7	14	9	7	6	9	15	8	10	18	6	13
1/week	4	3	4	5	4	3	2	4	5	3	4	12	2	8
1-2/month	4	4	4	1	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	11	2	8
less often	19	20	18	28	21	14	14	24	21	22	16	14	20	13
Never	42	40	44	25	39	51	59	36	19	49	37	17	49	29
Don't know	2	2	2	5	2	2	5	0	0	4	1	3	2	6

[130] Adopted from World Survey III: ..., Table 105b.

Section 3: FILMS AND CINEMA

Movies are very popular in Malaya and Singapore — particularly in the latter — and film attendance in both areas is among the highest of all the countries of Asia. While this is particularly true for the urban areas where the best commercial theatre facilities are located, it is only slightly less true for the rural areas, which are frequently visited by mobile film units.

The cinema is primarily a private enterprise in both areas. All urban commercial theatres are privately owned — mostly by Chinese — while the majority of the rural mobile film units are government owned and operated. Even though private ownership of commercial theatres exists however, the governments of both states maintain close control over the media through the exercise of film censorship. Every cinematographic film meant for exhibition in either region has to be approved by the Board of Film Censors (a pan-Malayan organization which, prior to July 1, 1966, served both Malaya and Singapore) before it could be shown to the general public. The Board's mandate extended not only to feature films, but also to newsreels, advertising films and filmlets, educational films, television films other than official government films, and all material and accessories appertaining to these films, such as posters, pressbooks, press advertisements of films, announcements, handbills, etc. Any films or portions thereof which might conceivably "incite towards violence"[131] were barred, and any films which might possibly offend the sentiments and susceptibilities of any sector of the society were given special attention. In this context, films dealing with racial intolerance and religious conflicts, gangsterism, juvenile delinquency, or any other form of "undesirable and anti-social behavior patterns"[132] were particularly carefully scrutinized prior to their release.

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131 Area Handbook..., p. 413.

132 Singapore Year Book, 1967, p. 260.

Cinema Facilities

In both Malaya and Singapore, most of the better theatre houses were owned by two large Chinese companies — Shaw's Malay Productions and the Cathay-Keris Organization — both of which were headquartered in Singapore. Theatres owned by these two groups maintained high standards: All were permanent 35-mm facilities, and many were air conditioned and equipped with modern, wide-screen projection equipment. The majority of these first run theatres were concentrated in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Penang. Additionally, however, it was reported that every small town in both areas, including many of the New Villages in Malaya, had at least one theatre. By 1965, the permanent commercial 35-mm theatres in Malaya and Singapore numbered at least 481 and 70 respectively, and were estimated to have an annual attendance of 61.6 million and 25.1 million, respectively. These facilities had a seating capacity per 100 people of at least 3.7/100 in Malaya and 2.9/100 in Singapore.

In addition to these permanent facilities, a fairly large number of open air and mobile film theatres operated in both areas. The majority of these facilities were non-commercial government activities. At the end of 1962, for example, the Malayan government owned 97 mobile film units, of which 86 travelled by truck and 11 travelled by boat. Each of these units averaged about 20 shows per month, with attendance ranging from 200 to 1500 persons. The annual Malayan attendance for such non-commercial mobile film unit showings was estimated in 1962 to be approximately 10 million persons.[133] At approximately the same time, there were 46 open air and mobile film theatres operating in Singapore. Some of these were privately owned commercial enterprises and the balance were government owned and operated. Attendance estimates for these open air and mobile theatres are included in Singapore's gross annual movie attendance figure of 25.1 million persons, and therefore can not be presented here as a separate category.

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[133] Area Handbook..., p. 414.

Local Film Production

In 1965 there were four local commercial companies which produced Malay and other language films for distribution in Malaysia, all of them located in Singapore. The production of these companies was small but stable; in each of the ten years between 1955 and 1965 they together had an average annual total production of between 11 and 20 full length commercial films.[134] Of the 19 feature films produced in 1960, 17 were in the Malay language, 1 was in Mandarin, and the 1 remaining film was in Hokkien. In addition to the 19 feature films produced in 1961, 32 shorter films were made. Of these, 17 were documentaries, three were instructional, and two were entertainment films.[135] In addition to making such films, these companies also were actively engaged in dubbing vernacular dialogues or subtitles into imported foreign films and in the production of advertising films for both theatre and television advertising.

No commercial film production company existed in Malaya in 1965, but the government Malayan Film Unit (MFU) was actively producing newsreels, shorts, and documentary films, mostly of an educational or indoctrinational character. It did not make feature films. This unit was established in 1946 to produce, distribute, and exhibit informational and educational films concerning Malaya and its problems with the objective of breaking down cultural separatism among the various Malayan communities. It was put on a commercial basis as a division of the Information Department in 1949 and has since contracted for special films as ordered and purchased by the various departments of the government. MFU films are distributed to both commercial theatres and mobile film units in Malaya, and are especially emphasized by the latter. These films additionally are widely distributed to schools, clubs, associations, and government departments. In 1960, the

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134 Statistical Office of the United Nations, Statistical Year Book, 1967 (New York, 1968), p. 766. Table 209. Hereafter referred to as Statistical Year Book, 1967

135 UNESCO, Department of Mass Communications, World Communications: Press, Radio, Television, Film; 4th edition, revised, Paris, 1964, p. 255. Hereafter referred to as World Communications: ... .

MFU made 23 documentaries, 2 instructional films, and 11 cinemagazines. Nearly all of these films were made in more than one language.[136]

Foreign Imported Films

Large numbers of foreign feature and other films are imported into Malaya and Singapore annually, and these films comprise the overwhelming bulk of the materials projected in Malaysian theatres. In fact, Singapore is the center of film distribution for most of Southeast Asia; in 1964 all the principal British and American companies were represented there, and supplied English-speaking films and continental films dubbed or subtitled in English.[137] Most major Japanese, Hong Kong, and Indian companies were also represented. The majority of the commercial films shown in Malaya were imported primarily through these Singapore-based distribution centers.

Table II-23 summarizes data on the numbers of full length foreign commercial 35-mm films which were imported into Singapore in selected years between 1960 and 1965. In addition to these imported feature length commercial 35-mm films, Malay and Singapore also import annually large numbers of other types of films. These are summarized for 1964 and 1965 in Table II-24. Data on the breakdown of these numbers according to the country of origin are not currently available. As one illustrative example, however, it is known that of 248 documentary films imported into Malaya in 1960, 76 were from the United States, 53 from New Zealand, 51 each from the United Kingdom and Canada, and 17 from Australia.[138] Additionally, it is known that weekly newsreels were regularly imported by air from the United States, The United Kingdom, and Hong Kong. These newsreels were imported by five different companies, four of them British and one American.[139] And finally, a number of the imported short subject films (as well, it is suspected, as some of the educational films), were provided by foreign embassies and com-

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136 World Communications:..., p. 240.

137 Area Handbook..., p. 415.

138 World Communications..., p. 240.

139 Area Handbook..., p. 415.

Table II-23

35-mm Feature Films Imported Into Singapore, 1960-1965

Country of Origin	Language	1960[140]	1961[141]	1964[142]	1965[142]
United Kingdom	English	65	71	53	32
United States	English	325	198	214	210
Hong Kong	Cantonese	200+	290	215	176
	Mandarin			80	51
	Teochew			27	14
	Hokkien			11	3
				333	244
India	Hindustani	111	152	56	50
	Tamil			50	29
	Malayalam			?	2
				108	81
Japan	Japanese (Mandarin dubbed)	...[a]	53	N.A.	280[b]
Italy	English	...[a]	25	N.A.	...[a]
Other Countries (incl. Japan, Italy, France, Egypt, Turkey, Philippines, etc.)	Assorted	291	68	21	180
TOTAL Imports		892+	857	729	1,027
Local Features Films		19	19	20	17
TOTAL FEATURE FILMS		911+	876	749	1,044

[a]The sigil (...) indicates that data are included in the "other countries" category.

[b]There were an atypically large number of Japanese films imported in 1965.

140 Area Handbook..., p. 415.

141 World Communications: ..., p. 255.

142 Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 221.

Table II-24

Other Films Imported Into Singapore, 1964-1965[143]

Type of Film	1964	1965
(a) 16-mm feature films identical to 35-mm versions which had been imported.	525	596
(b) 35-mm original advertising filmlets.	494	610
(c) 16-mm educational/advertising subjects.	357	448
(d) 35/16-mm short subject films.	420	590
(e) 35/16-mm newsreels.	180	189
(f) Original prints of 8-mm films;		
over 4950 copies,	130	...
over 2200 copies.	...	50

missions, particularly by the United States Information Service.

Cinema Audience Preferences

Although adequate hard data on audience preferences are not available to the author at this time, it seems reasonably safe to assume that each ethnic community preferred movies reflecting his own ethnic heritage and/or language, and that European/American movies in the English language were accepted primarily on the basis of their individual merits as entertainment, whether it be musical, comedy, mystery, or drama. This is at least partially substantiated by the following tables, which summarize 1963 sample survey data on the stated cinema language of choice, by race and by income group, for Malaya and Singapore.

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143 Singapore Year Book, 1964, p. 236, and Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 221.

Table II-25

Stated Cinema Language of Choice, by Race: Malaya and Singapore, 1963.[144]

(percentage of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Other	Total, All Races
Weighted Sample	1,220	1,508	341	85	3,134
Sample Attending Cinema	1,017	1,428	321	83	2,829
(1) No Special Choice	-	a	-	-	a
(2) Malay	74	1	1	-	34
(3) Hokkien	-	12	-	-	5
(4) Teochew	-	7	-	-	3
(5) Cantonese	-	25	-	-	10
(6) Hakka or Khek	-	a	-	-	a
(7) Mandarin	-	16	-	1	6
(8) Tamil	a	-	61	1	8
(9) Other Indian	2	-	17	4	3
(10) English	22	38	22	94	31

[144] Adopted from "Exposure to Advertising Media...", Table 8.1.

Table II-26

Stated Cinema Language of Choice, by Income Group: Malaya and Singapore, 1963.[145]

(percentages of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)

	0-M$150	M$150-M$300	M$300-M$500	M$500-M$1,000	Over M$1,000	Total All Groups
Weighted Sample	982	939	617	388	208	3,134
Sample Attend. Cinema	821	857	575	371	205	2,829
(1) No Special Choice	a	-	-	-	-	a
(2) Malay	57	25	10	3	-	34
(3) Hokkien	7	8	5	3	3	5
(4) Teochew	3	4	4	5	a	3
(5) Cantonese	9	18	13	12	6	10
(6) Hakka or Khek	a	a	-	-	-	a
(7) Mandarin	4	10	11	11	5	6
(8) Tamil	7	8	7	5	4	8
(9) Other Indian	2	3	4	2	2	3
(10) English	9	24	45	59	79	31

One very superficial generalization on audience preference has been reported: "Malaysian audiences as a whole appreciated Tarzan and Wild West films; they are not especially attracted by films of gangster violence. The Chinese love circus films, and the Malays are especially interested in underwater pictures."[146] It might be added to this, from the author's own superficial observations, that the Indians love complex and lengthy melodrama as only an Indian possibly could. Whether or not the reported indifference toward "films of gangster violence" is a matter of actual preference or of acquiescence to government censorship practise must necessarily remain a matter for conjecture.

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145 Adopted from "Exposure to Advertising Media...," Table 8-2

146 Area Handbook..., pp. 413-414.

Until at least 1965, the cinema continued to be regarded solely as an entertainment medium, and had not been widely or successfully used for educational, instructional, or training purposes.[147] The primary exception to this would be in the case of some of the MFU films, but even these, it must be remembered, made only a very minor impact on the total cinema market in the area.

Cinema Audience

Just as most of the commercial theaters in Malaya and Singapore are Chinese-owned, so it it also that Chinese constitute the bulk of the movie-going segment of the population. This might be accounted for in large measure by the fact that the Chinese constitute the bulk of the population in those urban areas where the majority of the theatres are located. Nonetheless, even in such areas the Chinese seem to show a greater predisposition toward going to movies than do either of the other two major ethnic communities. This tendency is reflected in the following table, which summarizes data on "most recent attendance at a cinema" among a largely urban sampling population in both Malaya and Singapore.

Table II-27

Stated Cinema Attendance, by Race: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[148]

(percentage of relevant group)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total, All Races
Weighted Sample	1,220	1,508	341	85	3,134
Within last 3 days	6	9	4	6	7
3 days-1 week	8	13	3	20	10
1 week-2 weeks	15	24	19	36	20
2 weeks-3 weeks	10	17	21	6	14
3 weeks-4 weeks	13	15	15	11	14
1 month-3 months	16	10	23	11	14
Over 3 months	14	7	9	8	10
Never attend cinema	17	5	6	2	7
Mean Time Since Last Attendance (in days)	34.8	23.0	32.5	22.4	29.5

147 World Communications: ..., p. 45.

148 Adopted from "Exposure to Advertising Media...", Table 7.1.

Similarly, and perhaps predictably, frequency of movie attendance would appear to be additionally linked, when aggregated across all ethnic communities, to both age and income groups. These tendencies are illustrated in the two following tables. Unfortunately, data are not currently available which disaggregate the sample population into the separate ethnic groups and then investigate such other factors as sex, age, income group, education, etc.

Table II-28

Stated Cinema Attendance, by Age Group: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[149]

(Percentage of relevant group)

	16-20 years	21-30 years	31-45 years	46-60 years	Over 60 years	Total, All Races
Weighted Sample	161	835	1,516	567	55	3,134
Within last 3 days	14	10	6	6	-	7
3 days - 1 week	17	12	9	7	-	10
1 week - 2 weeks	23	23	22	14	2	20
2 weeks - 3 weeks	17	17	15	12	8	14
3 weeks - 4 weeks	14	14	14	14	9	14
1 month - 3 months	11	10	16	15	13	14
Over 3 months	3	7	9	16	45	10
Never attend cinema	3	7	9	16	25	10
Mean Time Since Last Attendance (in days)	18.9	23.1	27.6	36.0	67.0	29.5

[149] Adopted from "Exposure to Advertising Media ...," Table 7-3

Table II-29

Stated Cinema Attendance, by Income Group: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[150]

(Percentage of relevant group)

	0-M$150	M$150-M$300	M$300-M-$500	M$500-M$1,000	Over M$1,000	Total All Races
Weighted Sample	982	939	617	388	208	3,134
Within last 3 days	3	8	8	12	13	7
3 days - 1 week	5	10	13	14	14	10
1 week - 2 weeks	12	20	24	30	35	20
2 weeks - 3 weeks	12	17	18	14	7	14
3 weeks - 4 weeks	14	15	13	11	17	14
1 month - 3 months	21	11	11	9	10	14
Over 3 months	16	10	6	6	3	10
Never attend cinema	16	9	7	4	1	10
Mean Time Since Last Attendance (in days)	75.4	27.9	22.8	20.4	18.4	29.5

Whatever the breakdown on propensity to attend the cinema, the fact remains that movies are comparatively popular among all groups and as such represent an important medium of mass communication in Malaya and Singapore. The average annual cinema attendance per person in Malaya in 1962 was 8.9 for commercial movies, and rose to over 10.2 when noncommercial mobile film unit

150 Adopted from "Exposure to Advertising Media ...," Table 7-1

showings were included. In Singapore, people went to the movies on the average of 14.4 times each year. No reliable breakdowns on these figures by the various racial groups are currently available to the author. These figures compare very favorably with similar data from other selected countries, which are presented in Table II-30.

Table II-30

Number of Cinemas and Average Annual Per Capita Attendance: Selected Countries[151]

Country	Year	Number of Cinemas	Annual Per Capita Attendance
Malaya	1962	287	8.9 (+ M.F.U.'s)
(Mobile Film Units)	(1962)	(97)	10.2 (Total)
Singapore	1962	70	14.4
(Mobile Film Units)	1962	46	
Philippines	1958	776	0.6
Thailand	1960	230	N.A.
India	1962	3,644	3.2
(Mobile)	1962	1,398	
Hong Kong	1960	N.A.	22.8
Egypt	1962	308	2.6
Ghana	1961	71	1.6
(Mobile)	1961	41	
Nigeria	1960	67	0.1
Brazil	1962	3,232	4.4
Mexico	1961	2,005	10.4
Puerto Rico	1959	163	3.4
Venezuela	1959	744	8.4
Canada	1960	1,558	6.6
U.S.A.	1961	21,106	11.8
United Kingdom	1961	2,711	8.7

[151] Adopted from United Nations, Statistical Year Book, 1963, Table 190 (A and B), and from various Malayan and Singaporean sources previously cited.

The impact of the introduction of television on cinema attendance was only beginning to be felt by 1965, and it was expected that its full impact would still be some years in coming. Nonetheless, theatre operators, and especially those in Singapore, were noting a dip in attendance by 1965, and reportedly were expecting that there would be worse to come.[152]

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[152] Variety, June 23, 1965, p. 53.

CHAPTER III: THE PRINTED MEDIA

Section I: NEWSPAPERS

As has been shown to be the case with Malaya's and Singapore's electronic mass media facilities, the structure of the printed mass media is strongly influenced by the cosmopolitan, multi-lingual nature of the area's population. Indigenously printed materials are circulated in six different languages: Malay (both Rumi and Jawi), English, ideographic Chinese, Tamil, Malayalam, and Punjabi. Of these, English and Chinese have until recently clearly dominated, although Malay now appears to be enjoying a major upsurge as a consequence of the government's plans to make it the national language by 1973.

While this multi-lingual complexity is reflected in all facets of the region's printed media, it is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the press, which is the only media — electronic or printed — using all six languages. In 1965, 24 major daily newspapers, with a total circulation of approximately 577,000 copies daily and 671,000 on Sunday, were being printed. Of these, three were printed in Malay (two in Jawi and one in Rumi), four in English, nine in Chinese, five in Tamil, two in Malayalam, and one in Punjabi. The following table summarizes relevant data on all the newspapers in Malaya and Singapore which were being published more frequently than once weekly between 1963 and 1965.

Many of these have limited geographical or numerical circulation, and only four can be said to be truly national in scope. These are the English language Straits Times, the Chinese language Nan Yang Siang Pao and Sin Chew Jit Poh, and the Malay language Utusan Melayu, with daily circulations of 140,000, 90,000, 70,000, and 50,000 respectively. Of these, only the Straits Times is read by educated classes of all racial groups and it therefore is the only one which serves as an effective interracial medium. Each of the others, as well as nearly all of the smaller, more parochial papers,

Table III-1

Daily and Other Regularly Distributed Newspapers: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[153]

Name and Language	City of Publication and Date Established	Proprietor	No. of Pages	Approximate Circulation[154] Daily	Sunday	Approximate Distribution[155] Singapore	Malaya
I. MALAY LANGUAGE							
Rumi Script							
Berita Harian (daily)	Singapore & Kuala Lumpur, 1957	Straits Times Press, Ltd.	8	25,000[m][156]		20% (5,000)	80% (20,000)
Berita Minggu (Sunday)					30,000	20% (6,000)	80% (24,000)
Jawi Script							
Utusan Melayu (daily)	Kuala Lumpur, 1939	Utusan Melayu Press, Ldt	8	50,000[m]		15% (7,500)	84% (42,000)
Utusan Zaman (Sunday)					50,000		
Warta Negara (daily)	Georgetown, 1945	Controlled by Utuson Melayu Press from late 1964	8	4,000[m]		100% (4,000) Penang	N. Malaya
Warta Mingguan (Sunday)					4,000		
II. ENGLISH LANGUAGE							
Straits Times	Singapore & Kuala Lumpur, 1845	Straits Times Press, Ltd.	16-20	140,000[m]		38% (53,000)	60% (84,000)
Sunday Times					180,000	40% (72,000)	55% (99,000)
Malay Mail	Singapore & Kuala Lumpur, 1896	Straits Times Press, Ltd.	12-20	24,000[a][156]		25% (6,000)	75% (18,000)
Sunday Mail					32,000	40% (12,800)	60% (19,200)
Malayan Times	Petaling Jaya, 1962	Malayan Times Ltd.	n.a.	5,000[m]	5,000	5% (250)	95% (4,750)
Pinang Gazette (& Straits Chronicle)	Georgetown, 1838	Straits Echo Press	4	200[a]			100% (200) Penang
Straits Echo (& Times of Malaya)	Georgetown, 1903 (Also a small Ipoh edition)	Straits Echo Press, Ltd.	12	12,000[m]			100% (12,000) Penang & N. Malaya; 100% (13,000); 5%
Sunday Gazette					13,000		
III. CHINESE							
Nan Yang Siang Pao	Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, & Penang, 1923	Nan Yang Press Ltd.	24	90,000[m]		40% (36,000)	60% (54,000)
Sunday edition					110,000	45% (50,000)	55% (60,000)
Nan Yang Won Pau (Nan Yang Evening Post)	Singapore, 1950	Nan Yang Press Ltd	6	29,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sin Chew Jit Poh	Singapore, 1929	Sin Poh Amalgamated, Ltd.	16	70,000[m]		55% (38,500)	45% (31,500)
Sunday edition					75,000	55% (41,250)	45% (38,750)
Chung Kuo Pao	Kuala Lumpur, 1946	China Press	n.a.	16,000[m]	16,000		100% (16,000) Selangor; Kuala Lumpur & environs
Sing Pin Jih Pao	Georgetown, 1939	Sin Poh Amalgamated, Ltd.	8	14,000[m]	14,000		100% (14,000) N. Malaya (Penang, Province Wellesley, Kedah, Perls, & S. [illegible]
Kwong Wah Jit Pao (and Penang Sin Poo)	Georgetown, 1910	Kwong Wah Jit Pao Press	8	16,000[m]	16,000		100% (16,000) Penang & environs
Kin Kwok Jit Pao	Ipoh, 1940	Kin Kwok Daily News Ltd.	6	16,000[m]	16,000		100% (16,000) Ipoh & environs in Perak
Shin Min Yat Pao (New Life Daily News)	Johore Bahru, 1961	n.a.	n.a.	12,000[a]		50% (6,000)	50% (6,000) mainly [illegible]
					20,000	50% (10,000)	50% (10,000)
Sin Man Jih Pao	Singapore, 1957	n.a.	n.a.	10,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Min Pao	Singapore, 1960	Kong Hoa Printing Co.	n.a.	4/week, 700		70% (500)	30% (200)
Berita Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur, 1964	n.a.	n.a.	3/week, 4,000		10% (400)	90% (3,600)
Malayan Thung Pao	Kuala Lumpur, 1959	n.a.	n.a.	4/week, 13,000			100% (13,000) mainly states around Selan[illegible]
Economic Times	Singapore, 1961	n.a.	n.a.	2/week, n.a.			100% (n.a.)
IV. INDIAN LANGUAGES							
Tamil							
Tamil Nesan	Kuala Lumpur, 1924	n.a.	8	13,000[m]		20% (2,600)	80% (10,400)
Sunday edition					18,500	20% (3,700)	80% (14,800)
Tamil Murusu	Singapore, 1934	The Star Press, Ltd.	8-16	12,000[N.A.]		60% (7,200)	40% (4,800)
Sunday edition					15,000	60% (9,000)	40% (6,000)
Tamil Malar	Singapore, [illegible]	n.a.	n.a.	6,800[N.A.]		40% (2,700)	60% (4,100)
Sunday edition					9,500	40% (3,800)	60% (5,700)
Malainaadu	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10,000[m]	10,000	5% (500)	95% (9,500)
Malaya Nanban	Singapore, 1961	n.a.	n.a.	6,500		50% (3,250)	50% (3,250)
Malayalam							
Malaysia Malayali				5,000[N.A.]		40% (2,000)	60% (3,000)
Sunday edition					7,000	40% (2,800)	60% (4,200)
Kerala Bandhu	Singapore, 1938	Hind Publishers	6	6,000[m]	6,000	75% (4,500)	N.A. 25% (1,500)
Punjabi							
Pardesi Khalsa Sewak	Kuala Lumpur, 1936	n.a.	4	10,000[m]	10,000	10% (1,000)	90% (9,000)
Malaya Samachar	Kuala Lumpur, n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

[153] [illegible] data [illegible] in Lent, Tilman, USIS, Benn, FEPA, Asia Foundation-Government, Perpustakaan Malaysia, and Area Handbook for Malaysia, etc.

[154] [illegible] subjective selections from varying data in, especially, Lent, Tilman, FEB, and Area Handbook for Malaysia.

[155] [illegible], Tilman, Asia Foundation, Lent. Figures are rounded for simplicity. In some instances, small percentages (e.g., less [illegible]

[156] [illegible] afternoon distribution.

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Table III-1

Daily and Other Regularly Distributed Newspapers: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[153]

Proprietor	No. of Pages	Approximate Circulation[154] Daily	Sunday	Approximate Distribution[155] Singapore	Malaya	Comments, Political Orientation, Etc.
Straits Times Press, Ltd.	8	25,000[m][156]	30,000	20% (5,000) 20% (6,000)	80% (20,000) 80% (24,000)	Pro-Government
Utusan Melayu Press, Ldt.	8	50,000[m]	50,000	15% (7,500)	84% (42,000)	Pro-Malay and arch conservative
Controlled by Utuson Melayu Press from late 1964	8	4,000[m]	4,000	100% (4,000) Penang	N. Malaya	Conservative; primarily news of Penang and environs.
Straits Times Press, Ltd.	16-20	140,000[m]	180,000	38% (53,000) 40% (72,000)	60% (84,000) 55% (99,000)	Conservative
Straits Times Press, Ltd.	12-20	24,000[a][157]	32,000	25% (6,000) 40% (2, 00)	75% (18,000) 60% (19,200)	Pro-Government
Malayan Times Ltd.	n.a.	5,000[m]	5,000	5% (250)	95% (4,750)	Conservative; disc'd 1966, bought by New Eastern Sun.
Straits Echo Press	4	200[a]			100% (200) Penang	
Straits Echo Press, Ltd.	12	12,000[m]	13,000		100% (12,000) Penang & N. Malaya; 100% (13,000); 5%	Conservative, overwhelmingly local Penang news.
Nan Yang Press Ltd.	24	90,000[m]	110,000	40% (36,000) 45% (50,000)	60% (54,000) 55% (60.000)	Rightist
Nan Yang Press Ltd	6	29,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sin Poh Amalgamated, Ltd.	16	70,000[m]	75,000	55% (38,500) 55% (41,250)	45% (31,500) 45% (38,750)	Leftist, querulous; only real maverick from government policy.
China Press	n.a.	16,000[b]	16,000		100% (16,000) Selangor; Kuala Lumpur & environs	Taiwan oriented.
Sin Poh Amalgamated, Ltd.	8	14,000[m]	14,000		100% (14,000) N. Malaya (Penang, Province Wellesley, Kedah, Perls, & S. Thailand	Sister paper to Sin Chew Jit Poh, but much less querulous.
Kwong Wah Jit Pao Press	8	16,000[m]	16,000		100% (16,000) Penang & environs	Rightist; founded by K.M.T. & Sun Yat Sen.
Kin Kwok Daily News Ltd.	6	16,000[m]	16,000		100% (16,000) Ipoh & environs in Perak state.	Center
n.a.	n.a.	12,900[a]	20,000	50% (6,000) 50% (10,000)	50% (6,000) mainly in Johore State 50% (10,000)	n.a.
n.a.	n.a.	10,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Kong Hoa Printing Co.	n.a.	4/week, 700		70% (500)	30% (200)	Subsidized by P.A.P.; not allowed in Malaya prior to 1963.
n.a.	n.a.	3/week, 4,000		10% (400)	90% (3,600)	Mouthpiece of MCA; extended to Singapore late in 1964.
n.a.	n.a.	4/week, 13,000			100% (13,000) mainly central states around Selangor	Rapidly growing paper. Became daily in 1968.
n.a.	n.a.	2/week, n.a.			100% (n.a.)	n.a.
n.a.	8	13,000[m]	18,500	20% (2,600) 20% (3,700)	80% (10,400) 80% (14,800)	Conservative
The Star Press, Ltd.	8-16	12,000[N.A.]	15,000	60% (7,200) 60% (9,000)	40% (4,800) 40% (6,000)	Conservative
n.a.	n.a.	9,800[N.A.]	9,500	40% (2,700) 40% (3,800)	60% (4,100) 60% (5,700)	Conservative
n.a.	n.a.	10,000[m]	10,000	5% (500)	95% (9,500)	n.a.
n.a.	n.a.	6,500		50% (3,250)	50% (3,250)	n.a.
		5,000[N.A.]	7,000	40% (2,000) 40% (2,800)	60% (3,000) 60% (4,200)	n.a.
Kind Publishers	6	6,000[m]	6,000	75% (4,500)	N.A. 25% (1,500)	n.a.
n.a.	4	10,000[m]	10,000	10% (1,000)	90% (9,000)	n.a.
n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Just launched in 1965.

UNIS, Aeun, FERD, Asia Foundation-Government, Perpustakaan Malaysia, and Area Handbook for Malaysia, etc.

Varying data in, especially, Lent, Tilman, FERD, and Area Handbook for Malaysia.

undation, Lent. Figures are rounded for simplicity. In some instances, small percentages (e.g., less than 2%) are circulated in the Borneo States.

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serve primarily their own vernacular readership, with the consequence that they tend to be somewhat race, group, or area oriented. Within the Chinese and Indian communities, in particular, there is even further press specialization, with various papers serving the subgroups of these ethnic entities and their varying social and political points of view. Although all dialects of Chinese use the same script, for example, some newspapers carry special columns in which they use local expressions and news items of local significance to cater to specific dialect groups. Due largely to the government's stated commitment to foster stronger inter-racial national unity, however, this situation was slowly changing through the years prior to 1965, particularly among the larger newspapers which, due to their larger circulations, were more closely subjected to government scrutiny.[157] Smaller newspapers continued to cater to localized and/or parochial sub-groups, with the consequence that such homogenization was a much slower and more gradual process.

Over 75 percent of the locally printed newspapers circulated in Malaya and Singapore are owned by four large communications chains. These chains, which additionally control considerable other communications assets, are listed below, with the papers they own and their respective languages and daily circulations:

(1) The Straits Times Press Ltd. (189,000) — Straits Times (English, 140,000), Malay Mail (English, 24,000), and Berita Harian (Rumi Malay, 25,000);

(2) The Nan Yang Press Ltd. (119,000) — Nan Yang Siang Pao (Chinese, 90,000), and Nan Yang Won Pao (Chinese, 29,000);

(3) The Sin Poh Amalgamated Ltd. (84,000) — Sin Chew Jit Poh (Chinese, 70,000) and Sing Pin Jih Pao (Chinese, 14,000); and

(4) Utusan Malayu Press Ltd. (54,000) — Utusan Malayu (Jawi Malay, 50,000) and Warta Negara (Jawi Malay, 4,000).

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157 The major exception to this might be the Malay language Utusan Malayu, which is printed in the Jawi script, and which is so arch conservative that it occasionally is said to be pro-Malay to the point of being militantly Malay chauvinist.

The following table indicates the percentage of papers in each language stream, as well as the percentage of all newspapers circulated, which are owned by each of these four chains.

Table III-2

Newspapers Owned by Large Communications Chains: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[158]

(Percentage of relevant group)

Language Stream	Straits Times Press Ltd.	Nan Yang Press Ltd.	Sin Poh Amalgamated Ltd.	Utusan Malaya Press Ltd.	All Other Newspapers
Malay: (79,000) =	32%			68%	
(Rumi – 25,000)	(100%)	–	–	(–)	–
(Jawi – 54,000)	(–)			(100%)	
English (178,200)	92%	–	–	–	8%
Chinese (251,700)	–	47%	33%	–	20%
Indian (69,300)	–	–	–	–	100%
Total, all languages (577,700)	33%	20%	14%	9%	24%
Total, excluding Indian languages (508,400)	37%	23%	16.5%	10.5%	13%

Several points can be made from the preceeding table. It is quite obvious, for example, that the Utusan Malayu Press has a complete monopoly among the Jawi reading public, and that the Straits Times Press exercises nearly equivalent dominance in the English language stream while at the same time monopolizing the Rumi reading portion of the population. Thus, there does not exist within the English or, to a certain extent, the Malay language stream any intra-industry competition for readers, a situation which has been partially responsible for the generally low quality of journalism which will be discussed in

158 Calculated from Table III-1.

a subsequent section of this study. Conversely, it should be noted that such intra-language competition for readers on a national basis does exist to a greater extent in the Chinese press. This is the case with the Indian press, which is not affected by the communications chains, due to its more localized and parochial circulation. Finally, it is quite clear from this table that the Straits Times group is currently the giant of the industry. This fact takes on added significance when it is recalled that the Straits Times is the region's only effective interracial printed medium.

Newspaper Circulation

Data on the specific geographical circulations of each of these newspapers must necessarily remain highly subjective and speculative at this point, even on such a gross level as the relative distribution between Malaya and Singapore. Two factors largely account for this: (1) During the years under consideration, free passage of items such as newspapers was generally allowed between the two states, with the consequence that reliable interstate circulation data are unavailable. Exceptions to this usually involved such blatently political papers as, for example, the Min Pao which, as a People's Action Party mouthpiece, was not allowed into Malaya until the formation of Malaysia in 1963. (2) Three of the four "national" papers published both Singapore and Kuala Lumpur editions which, except for advertisements and the addition of some local news, were almost identical. Specific data on the exact numbers of the two simultaneous editions of these "national" newspapers are unavailable, as most data for these papers are aggregated into total circulation figures. Within the context of these difficulties, the following table, based on data presented in table III-1, represents the best estimates currently possible for 1965 of the total circulations, by language stream, of the major daily newspapers in Malaya and in Singapore.

Table III-3

Estimated Total Daily Newspaper Circulation, by Language: Malaya and Singapore, 1965[159]

Language	Malaya				Singapore			
	Daily		Sunday		Daily		Sunday	
Malay:								
Rumi	20,000	5%	24,000	5.5%	5,000	2.8%	6,000	2.6%
Jawi	46,000	11.5%	46,000	10.5%	7,500	4.2%	7,500	3.3%
English	118,950	30%	135,950	30.5%	59,250	33.5%	85,050	37.3%
Chinese	170,300	42.5%	183,750	41.5%	81,400	46%	101,750	44.4%
Indian:								
Tamil	32,050	8%	39,250	9%	16,250	9.2%	20,250	9.0%
Malayalam	4,500	1%	4,700	1%	6,500	3.7%	7,300	3.0%
Panjabi	9,000	2%	9,000	2%	1,000	0.6%	1,000	0.4%
TOTAL CIRCULATION	400,800	100%	441,750	100%	176,900	100%	228,850	100%

The commonly accepted notion that Singapore ranks among the world's most highly developed countries with respect to per capita newspaper saturation is not supported by further calculations from the data presented in the preceeding table. It has been asserted, for example, that as early as 1962 Singapore had as many as 286 daily newspaper copies per 1,000 population, which would rank it with Canada (222 copies per 1,000 population) and the U.S.A. (321 copies per 1,000 population), but not quite with the recognized world leader, the United Kingdom (490 copies per 1,000 population), rather than with other so-called "developing countries" of the world such as Thailand (11 copies per 1,000 population) or Brazil (53 copies per 1,000 popula-

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[159] Calculated from Table III-1.

tion.[160] The data presented here, however, suggest that a more correct figure for Singapore is much lower, and in fact is probably more on the order of 90 copies per 1,000 population on weekdays and 120 copies per 1,000 population on Sundays. Similarly, commonly accepted figures for Malaya are higher – although to a much lesser degree than is the case with Singapore – than the data presented here would indicate: While 67 copies per 1,000 population have commonly been accepted for Malaya during the 1960-1962 period,[161] these data suggest that even as late as 1965 the correct figure was more on the order of 51 copies per 1,000 population on weekdays and 57 copies per 1,000 population on Sundays.

These discrepancies would appear to arise because of double counting which occurred in the commonly accepted figures, which led to inflated estimates. As has been noted, major difficulties are encountered in attempting to disaggregate circulation figures for those "national" newspapers which publish simultaneous editions in Malaya and Singapore, and it appears that the same newspaper copy was not infrequently counted as circulating in both areas simultaneously. Great care has been taken in this study to overcome this particular difficulty, and it therefore seems likely that the lower figures presented here are closer to actual facts than are those which previously found common acceptance.

Notwithstanding this, however, Singapore would continue to rank relatively high in its level of newspaper circulation, while Malaya would continue to be below – but by a slightly larger amount – the minimum newspaper circulation level of 100 copies per 1,000 population which has been recommended by UNESCO. These comparisions are reflected in the following table, which summarizes estimates of daily newspaper circulation for selected countries of the world.

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160 "Characteristics of Consumer Markets", Kajian Ekonani Malaysia, citing data from U.N., Statistical Yearbook, 1963, Tables 2 and 188, and U.N., Compendium of Social Statistics, 1963, U.N. Statistical Series K, No. 2, Table 65. See also the 1962-1963 estimate of 208 copies per 1,000 population in World Communications:..., p. 239.

161 "Characteristics of Consumer Markets", Loc. Cit. The official 1963 Malaya Year Book claims a figure of 71 copies per 1,000 population, but specifically suggests that, for reasons which will be discussed below, this figure may be high. See page 372.

Table III-4

Daily Newspaper Circulation in Selected Countries [162]

Country	Year	Copies per 1,000 population
Malaya	1958[a]	17[a]
	1960	67
	1965[b]	51[b]
Singapore	1958[a]	210[a]
	1960	286
	1965[b]	90[b]
Philippines	1961	16
Thailand	1960	11
Indonesia	1958[a]	11[a]
India	1962	0.3
Egypt	1958	20
Ghana	1961	32
Nigeria	1961	8
Brazil	1962	53
Mexico	1962	115
Puerto Rico	1961	61
Venezuela	1961	83
Canada	1961	222
U.S.A.	1962	321
United Kingdom	1962	490

[a] UNESCO "Developing Mass Media in Asia", Reports and Papers on Mass Communications, #30, pg. 59.

[b] Data presented in this study, pp. 100 and 101.

[162] Adopted, except as noted for Malaya and Singapore, from U.N., Statistical Year Book, 1963, Tables 2 and 88, and U.N. Compendium of Social Statistics, 1963, U.N. Statistical Series K, No. 2, Table 65.

Whichever set of figures more accurately describes the extent of newspaper circulation in Malaya and Singapore as of 1965, it should be noted here that a significant expansion and growth had taken place in the previous decade. The Straits Times, for example, more than doubled its circulation between 1957 and 1967 (daily editions went from 80,500 in 1957 to 188,500 in 1967; Sunday editions, from 99,500 to 226,000[163]), and growth among all the major newspapers occurred at a nearly comparable rate. Thus, the newspaper industry has come into its own only recently. The extent to which such an accelerated growth rate can be maintained must, for the purposes of this report, remain a matter for speculation.

Newspaper Readership

Circulation data such as have been presented here are not necessarily fully reliable measures of readership, due to the possibly different readership patterns among different ethnic communities. It has frequently been suggested, for example, that despite its comparatively limited circulation the Malay press effectively reaches a larger percentage of its potential audience than might otherwise be anticipated because of a smoothly functioning and very practical hand-to-hand – or pass along – system which insures any particular Malay language newspaper multiple sequential readers. Rather than throwing his paper away once he has read it, the so-called typical Malay is reported to be much more likely to pass it on to another prospective reader, in the process substantially increasing the number of readers of any single Malay language newspaper edition. Whether or not a similar phenomenon occurs to a similar extent among non-Malay communities is not known to the author at this time. Additionally, the Malay community is frequently reported to be more inclined to group reading of newspapers than are the other ethnic groups, although the extent to which this is true can not readily be quantified. Although fully reliable breakdowns of readership patterns are therefore impossible to derive, certain loose generaliza-

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163 Straits Times Press, The Straits Times Group: 1845-1968, Singapore, n.d., p. 3.

tions might be offered which should be suggestive of probable trends. For example, newspaper circulation tends to be concentrated in or around the major urban centers, and particularly those cities which serve as publishing centers. These have included primarily Kuala Lumpur in Selangore state and Singapore; they also include to a lesser extent Georgetown on Penang Island, and, more recently, Ipoh in Perak state. Thus, it can be anticipated that the bulk of newspaper reading will be in the general vicinity of these areas. No newspapers were published anywhere in the East Coast and, as reflected in Table III-5, below, newspaper readership among the predominantly Malay states of this section of the country — especially Kelantan and Trengganu — was found to be among the lowest of all areas sampled in one 1963 survey. In Kelatan state for example, 98 percent of the people surveyed claimed that they did not regularly read any newspaper whatever. This is in considerable contrast to such West Coast and/or urbanized areas as Singapore, Selangore, or Penang where, respectively, only 27 percent, 21 percent, and 20 percent of those sampled in the same survey claimed not to regularly read newspapers.

Similarly, language stream papers tend to circulate almost exclusively within their target ethnic groups or sub-groups. This is particularly the case with the Chinese and Indian language newspapers, which remain in the domain of their target readership, but applies only slightly less with the Malay press, which receives somewhat more diverse readership as a result of official programs, previously outlined, to push Malay as the national language. Only the English language press and, in particular the Straits Times, receives wide readership among all groups. To be more specific, as suggested in the following table, the Straits Times predictably receives its widest readership among the European and Eurasian community (92 percent) followed in descending order by the Indians (43 percent), the Chinese (32 percent), and the Malays (17 percent). No other paper has more than 2 percent readership among any ethnic group speaking any language other than the one in which the newspaper is printed.

Table III-5

Weekday Newspaper Readership, by State: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[164]
(percentage of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)[165]

Newspapers	State											
	Singapore	Selangore	Penang	Kedah & Perlis	Malacca	Johore Bahru	Negri Sembilan	Perak	Pahang	Kelantan	Trengganu	Total
Weighted Sample	543	351	252	166	74	179	82	527	72	88	80	3134
(1) Do not regularly read a newspaper	27	21	20	73	42	37	83	32	51	98	71	38
Malay												
(2) Berita Harian	4	2	4	8	9	4	1	11	1	1	6	6
(3) Utusan Melayu	3	1	2	1	3	17	2	9	7	1	18	8
(4) Warta Negara	-	-	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	a
English												
(5) Straits Times	47	53	31	14	19	24	2	29	21	2	3	30
(6) Malay Mail	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1
(7) Malayan Times	a	-	a	-	-	1	-	a	-	-	-	a
(8) Straits Echo	-	-	10	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
Chinese												
(9) Nan Yang Siang Pao	8	8	10	1	23	8	9	6	6	-	1	7
(10) Sin Chew Jit Poh	8	7	5	1	1	7	4	5	12	-	1	5
(11) Chung Kuo Pao	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	a	-	-	-	2
(12) Sing Pin Jit Pao	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1
(13) Kwong Wah Jit Pao	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
(14) Kin Kwok Daily News	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	a
(15) Shin Min Yat Pao	a	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	a
Indian												
(16) Tamil Nesan	-	4	3	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
(17) Tamil Murasu	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	1

[164] "Exposure to Advertising Media...", Table 5.6.

[165] Occasional readers excluded from this table. Those claiming to read more than one paper are counted for each paper read.

Table III-6

Weekday Newspaper Readership, by Race: Malaya and Singapore, 1963[166]

(percentage of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)[167]

Newspaper	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others	Total All Races
Weighted Sample	1220	1508	341	85	3134
(1) Do not regularly read a newspaper	48	32	36	1	38
Malay					
(2) Berita Harian	13	1	a	-	6
(3) Utusan Melayu	18	a	-	-	8
(4) Warta Negara	1	-	a	-	a
English					
(5) Straits Times	17	32	43	92	30
(6) Malay Mail	a	2	1	2	1
(7) Malayan Times	a	a	1	-	a
(8) Straits Echo	a	2	2	1	1
Chinese					
(9) Nan Yang Siang Pao	-	16	-	-	7
(10) Sin Chew Jit Poh	-	12	-	-	5
(11) Chung Kuo Pao	-	5	-	-	2
(12) Sing Pin Jih Pao	-	1	-	-	1
(13) Kwong Wah Jit Pao	-	1	-	-	1
(14) Kin Kwok Daily News	-	a	-	-	a
(15) Shin Min Yat Pao	-	a	-	-	a
Indian					
(16) Tamil Nesan	-	-	10	2	1
(17) Tamil Murasu	-	-	8	-	1

166 Ibid., Table 5.1. Newspaper readership on Sundays varies slightly from that of weekdays, with a higher readership among Chinese and Indians, and a lower readership among Malays. These differences are very small. For data on numbers circulated and the area of circulation for each paper cited above, see table III-1. (Press Table 3).

167 Occasional readers are excluded from this table. Those claiming to read more than one paper are counted for each paper read.

Tables III-7 and III-8 present additional data on readership patterns among the daily newspapers. It is of particular interest to note in Table III-7 the relationship between income levels and apparent propensity to read newspapers in each of the language streams -- and especially the apparent inverted pattern between the Malay stream and the English and Chinese streams. One possible explanation for this would be that higher income Malays, unlike their less affluent brethren, most frequently are urban oriented, more educated, and/or more attuned to the elite social/political structure. This strata of the Malay community might therefore incline toward The Straits Times which, as previously noted, functions as the only truly national inter-racial printed media in the country.

Patterns of a somewhat similar nature also are apparent when the data from this newspaper readership survey are broken down into age categories, as in Table III-8. As a loose generalization, these data suggest that Chinese language newspapers have their proportionally greatest readership among the older age categories, but with a significant drop in readership over the age of 60. This is particularly the case with the two "national" Chinese newspapers. Whether or not this drop is somehow socially and/or culturally defined is not known to the author at this time. It might be suggested in passing, however, that this older age group most undoubtedly contains the highest proportion of persons who immigrated directly from China, and these people in nearly all instances were uneducated and illiterate. Moreover, it was not until after the 1911 Revolution in China that any Chinese educational facilities were provided in Malaya or Singapore for Chinese children born there, and the children who otherwise would have begun their schooling prior to that time would, in 1965, have been in or approaching their sixties.

The age breakdown on newspaper readership in the Malay language stream suggests a pattern that is an almost direct contradiction to that shown for the Chinese language stream. If there is an obvious historical, social, and/or cultural explanation for the seemingly disproportionate number of people in the oldest age category claiming to read Malay newspapers, it is not known to the author at this time. Nonetheless the pattern quite clearly seems to be for readership of Malay newspapers to drop off consecutively with increasing age

Table III-7

Weekday Newspaper Readership, by Income Groups: Malaya & Singapore, 1963[168]
(percentage of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)[169]

Newspaper	0 - M$150	M$151-M$300	M$301-M$500	M$501-M$1000	Over - M$1000	Total All Groups
Weighted Sample	982	939	617	388	208	3134
(1) Do not regularly read a newspaper	65	40	23	7	3	38
Malay						
(2) Berita Harian	7	7	4	2	-	6
(3) Utusan Melayu	13	9	5	2	a	8
(4) Warta Negara	-	a	a	-	-	a
English						
(5) Straits Times	6	22	42	56	81	30
(6) Malay Mail	a	1	2	2	3	1
(7) Malayan Times	-	-	a	a	-	a
(8) Straits Echo	a	1	2	3	-	1
Chinese						
(9) Nan Yang Siang Pao	3	9	10	15	6	7
(10) Sin Chew Jit Poh	3	6	8	9	3	5
(11) Chung Kuo Pao	1	1	a	1	-	2
(12) Sing Pin Jih Pao	-	1	1	1	1	1
(13) Kwong Wah Jit Pao	1	1	a	1	a	1
(14) Kin Kwok Daily News	-	-	a	a	-	a
(15) Shin Min Yat Pao	-	-	a	a	-	a
Indian						
(16) Tamil Nesan	1	1	1	1	3	1
(17) Tamil Murasu	1	2	a	1	-	1

[168] Ibid., Table 5.2.

[169] Occasional readers excluded from this table. Those claiming to read more than one paper are counted for each paper read.

between 20 and 60, but then to jump, by as much as a factor of three in the case of the Berita Harian, for the oldest age grouping.

The factor in the Malay language stream readership data which may have greater relevance, however, is the indication of relatively low readership among the 16-20 age category. If the data are to be believed, efforts to further the use of Bahasa Kebangasaan (National Language) had not yet in 1963 had any major impact within this schooling age group. Rather, as suggested by Table III-8, the overwhelming tendency among young people not only in the Malay language stream but in all language streams appeared in 1963 to be to favor the English language Straits Times. The longer range implications of this situation with respect to national language planning and policy cannot be assessed within the context of this study, and the only logical way to measure the impact of the National Language Campaign over time would be through the analysis of time series data, which are not currently available.

Table III-8

Weekday Newspaper Readership, by Age: Malaya & Singapore, 1963[170]

(percentage of relevant group. Less than 0.5 percent = a)[171]

Newspapers	Ages					
	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	Over 60	Total All Ages
Weighted Sample	161	835	1515	567	55	3134
(1) Do not regularly read a newspaper	34	44	36	34	51	38
Malay						
(2) Berita Harian	2	6	5	4	13	6
(3) Utusan Melayu	5	9	7	6	7	8
(4) Warta Negara	-	a	a	-	-	a
English						
(5) Straits Times	36	24	31	31	25	30
(6) Malay Mail	-	1	1	1	-	1
(7) Malayan Times	-	a	a	-	-	a
(8) Straits Echo	-	1	1	1	-	1
Chinese						
(9) Nan Yang Siang Pao	4	7	8	9	-	7
(10) Sin Chew Jit Poh	2	5	6	8	5	5
(11) Chung K o Pao	-	a	1	a	2	2
(12) Sing Pan Jih Pao	-	a	1	1	2	1
(13) Kwong Wah Jit Pao	-	1	1	a	2	1
(14) Kin Kwok Daily News	-	-	a	a	-	a
(15) Shin Min Yat Pao	-	a	a	-	-	a
Indian						
(16) Tamil Nesan	-	1	1	2	-	1
(17) Tamil Murasu	1	1	1	1	-	1

[170] Ibid. Table 5.3.

[171] Occasional readers excluded from this table. Those claiming to read more than one paper are counted for each paper read.

Finally, the following table summarizes data from a survey taken exclusively in Singapore in June and July of 1965. Although the cross-tabulations presented here employ different categories than do the preceding tables, it should be obvious that these data in many instances lead to conclusions which differ from those previously suggested. Most specifically, these data suggest a much lower overall rate of newspaper readership in Singapore than that suggested in Table 3 above. Some of the inconsistencies between Tables III-5 to III-8 and Table III-9 may possibly be explanable in terms of qualitative differences between Malaya and Singapore which are not considered and/or factored out in the former summary tables. Other differences no doubt are a function of variations in sampling technique and, perhaps, sampling and/or analysis errors. Table III-9 therefore is presented here both to provide another perspective on newspaper readership in Singapore and, perhaps more importantly, to emphasize once again the provisional nature of many of the data presented in this study.

Table III-9

Newspaper Readership, By Selected Categories: Singapore, 1965[172]

(percentage of relevant group)

Frequency	Total	Sex		Age			Education			Class		Race		
		Male	Female	/24	25/30	40	Nil	Pri.	Sec.	L/M	M/U	C	M	I
	(509)	(255)	(254)	(80)	(197)	(232)	(237)	(141)	(131)	(224)	(285)	(396)	(76)	(24)
Regularly	40	62	19	50	43	34	7	56	83	27	51	37	47	50
Once/week or less	12	12	12	24	12	9	4	27	12	18	9	11	20	16
Never	43	23	62	21	42	51	80	16	4	50	37	46	30	29
D.K/N.A.	5	2	7	6	4	5	9	1	1	7	3	5	3	4

[172] Adapted from World Survey III: . . ., Table 103 . The question asked was, "How often, if at all, do you read a newspaper?"

Content and Quality

Freedom of expression for the printed media (as for the other media) is constitutionally guaranteed, qualified by the right of Parliament to impose:

> ...such restriction as it deems necessary or expedient in the interest of the security of the Federation, friendly relations with other countries, public order or morality, and restrictions designed to protect the privileges of Parliament or of any Legislative Assembly to provide against contempt of court, defamation, or incitement to any offense.[173]

According to law, "no printing press can be used to print any publication without a permit, ... (and) no newspaper may be printed, issued, or published without a government license."[174] Similarly, all newspapers, periodicals, and other publications which are imported into the country must register with the government. Any material coming under the legal definition of an undesirable publication may be refused the appropriate government permit or, if one already has been issued, may have that permit revoked or may be refused entry into the country.

Within this context, freedom of expression is a somewhat qualified right for the independently owned press of Malaya and Singapore. Although no formal framework for press censorship exists, the desire to perpetuate its own limited freedom as well, of course, as its own survival has led much of the established press of the area to impose a form of "voluntary censorship" in the sense that editors usually black out materials critical of the government, news that might tend to incite racial violence or other forms of breach of the peace, opinions on religious matters, the national language question, and other sensitive issues. This type of censorship is a matter more of moral suasion than of dictum but it nonetheless plays a determining role in the character of the press of the region.

Other pressures additionally influence the press. Most particularly, a general and overwhelming desire on the part of the government to minimize

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[173] 1963 Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia, as quoted in Area Handbook..., p. 392.

[174] Printing Presses Ordinance 1948, as amended by Printing Press Rules 1957 (Kuala Lumpur, Government Printing Office, 1957), Section 7(i).

internal dissension and to counter external threats have combined to make both feasible and acceptable strong but informal government "supervision" of the press. Pressures operating in this direction in 1965 included the threats posed by Indonesian "confrontation", the continued existence of leftist cell groups and armed terrorists still holding out on the Thai-Malaya border, and, perhaps most important of all, the ever-present threat of any internal exacerbation of communal tensions arising from the ethnic composition of the region. Overriding all of these, however, was the dedicated desire on the parts of the Alliance Party in Malaya and the People's Action Party in Singapore to perpetuate themselves in power and to minimize the opportunity for political competition to their respective rivals. Particularly following its overwhelming victory in the April 1964 election, which gave it an unprecedented majority in the Malaysian Parliament, Malaya's Alliance Party was able to insure a pliable and acquiescent press and thus to generally maintain a favorable press image for the country as a whole and toward the world at large. Although occasional querulous outbursts and mild criticisms of the government in non-essential areas were tolerated, these preserved more the facade than the fact of a fully free or dynamic press in Malaya.

In Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew's government was able to use an even somewhat heavier hand in its dealings with the press. Lee is well known for his dislike of press criticism, and does not tolerate a press which is too critical of his government. This was particularly the case during the formative and early stages of Malaysia, which some elements in Singapore -- particularly Communist -- tried hard to prevent and, failing that, to destroy. During that period, Lee's government threatened to ban any publication which attempted to cause bad relations between Malaya and Singapore. Partially as a result of this, the Straits Times Group (which, as noted, controls several of the region's major newspapers, as well as considerable other publishing resources) protested, moved its central offices to Kuala Lumpur, and asked the International Press Institute to investigate freedom of the press in Singapore. Shortly after this incident, a Singapore based Chinese-language daily, the Tiger Standard, was closed, and all overt press criticism of

government policies ceased.

It can thus be seen that the press of Malaya and Singapore is neither government controlled in the formal sense nor totally free in the legal sense; it walks a tightrope which necessarily dictates an essentially conservative, non-controversial, and often apolitical orientation. Whenever the realm of politics is entered, the coverage almost invariably is in support of current ruling party policies, irrespective of whether those policies have as their objective the preservation of power by that ruling elite or, in the broadest sense of the concept, "nation building". And whenever such coverage is provided, it almost equally as invariably is through extensive verbatim quotes from speeches made by the governing elite or through reprinting government handouts which are regularly provided to all newspapers by the Department of Information or the Ministry of Culture in Kuala Lumpur or Singapore, respectively. The result of this has been the development of a press which, with the occasional exception of the leftist and often somewhat querulous Sin Chew Jit Poh, is colored of a single hue: the so-called free press of Malaya and Singapore has become a profit-making business centered on entertainment for the reader and policies designed not to "rock the boat" of financial success. Moreover, the pervasiveness of this profit-making motive not infrequently dominates to the point of undermining any serious attempt to fully and accurately cover the news. A story missed today can always be picked up tomorrow, with a little bit of gloss (not infrequently imaginative) added to restore freshness.

While this situation reportedly exists in varying degrees among all newspapers of the region, it is particularly acute among papers of the Straits Times group, which so completely dominates the English language stream that a "devil-may-care" (if not at times even careless) attitude toward news coverage frequently manifests itself: statements are quoted out of context, speculations are cited as facts, "for your information only" confidences are betrayed and printed with attribution, and relatively insignificant personal human interest stories are sensationalized and given otherwise unwarranted attention. In fact, one of the most striking impressions a person is left

with after any superficial analysis of the papers of the region is the extensive space which is devoted to local news and sports, the prominence allotted to personal, parochial, or quasi-prurient interests (details of local rape and divorce cases are particularly popular and Christine Keeler was front-page banner headline material for an interminable length of time), and the extensiveness of "feature" stories and serialized novelettes. This most probably is partially due to the former British colonial influence, particularly the British monopoly in the area of public communication, as all papers of the area -- and especially the English language press -- imitate to varying degrees the more "popular" type of newspapers in Great Britain, which tend to emphasize sensationalized, circus-type make up and highly personalized reporting.

As a result of this, international events are not emphasized to any degree, and in fact it is only the larger, "national" papers which devote any significant space whatever to such events. This, however, is not due to lack of access to international news, as most of these larger papers subscribe to one or more of the four major international news services which maintain bureaus in either Kuala Lumpur or Singapore: the Associated Press, the United Press International, the Agence France Presse, and Reuters News Service, the last of which operates a two-way radio-teletype circuit linkage between Singapore and London.[175] Rather, it is due more to the "reader entertainment for corporate profit" motive which has been outlined: heavy international news does not normally sell copy, but human interest does.

There are thus four major factors, three of which already have been outlined, which have combined to create the newspaper industry as it existed

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[175]It should be mentioned in this regard that Singapore functions as a very important news collection center for the entire Southeast Asian region. AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters, the Australian Associated Press (AAP), Antara, the Central News Agency of Taiwan, Agence Viet Nam Presse, the Press Trust of India, the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance, the Near and Far East News Agency, the United Press of Pakistan, the Cathay Service Agency and the Jiji Press all maintained offices there in 1965, as did at least 20 correspondents of foreign newspapers and several representatives of large radio and television networks. Except for the first four agencies, however, these did not normally provide services or copy for the local press. World Communications:..., p. 254.

in 1965 in Malaya and Singapore: (a) the limiting political/official "constraints" under which the press of the area necessarily operates, (b) the pervasiveness of the money making motive, (c) the lack of inter- or intra-language stream commercial competition among papers, and (d) the shortage of adequately trained newspapermen schooled in objective journalism who have developed a sense of responsibility toward the public and their profession. This latter factor has had implications beyond the confines of the newspaper business and, in fact, has strongly influenced the evolution of Malaya's and Singapore's entire mass media industry. In 1965, for example, there were in Malaya and Singapore approximately 500 "professional journalists", of whom only 150-200 had ever received any formal training.[176] These 500 professionals were scattered throughout the radio and television, as well as newspaper, industries and had to service an area containing over 9,000,000 people; thus, they were undertrained and overextended. And, as has been noted in previous sections of this survey, this situation became particularly acute with the introduction of television into the area, a development which led to wholesale raids by the television industry on the most highly qualified personnel from both radio and the press. As just one example, in August 1965, after the worst of the "TV raid", the entire reportorial staff of the Straits Times totalled only 19 persons, of whom 15 were "cadets", that is, beginning or "cub" reporters with little or no formal journalistic training. Attempts to overcome this shortage of adequately trained professional journalists were begun in Malaya in 1964, when the communications media companies cooperated with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to start a journalism training project which would enroll 80 students in a one-year course. In 1965, it was still too early to assess the success or longer term effects of these efforts.

Section 2: OTHER PRIVATE PUBLISHING

Although daily and other frequently distributed newspapers constitute the most readily visible facet of the private publishing industry of Malaya and Singapore, they are by no means the only one. Other publishing includes less frequent newspapers, irregular tabloids, comic books, periodical magazines,

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[176] Tan Peng Siew, "The Press in Malaysia and Singapore", Loc. Cit.

journals, poetry and fiction, educational materials and scholarly works, and a wide range of political and official government publications. Each of these, as well as the role played by imported printed materials, will be discussed below.

As is the case with all other facets of the mass media in Malaya and Singapore, the publishing industry's character is strongly influenced by the multi-lingual nature of the society. The emphasis within the different language streams varies according to the strength and direction of the local literary tradition within each group, the accessibility and availability of materials published elsewhere in each language, and whatever difficulties are involved in printing materials in the varying scripts used by each of the languages. Although each of these factors will be considered when relevant throughout the remainder of this section, a few brief, general comments can help serve as an introduction.

The Malay literary tradition is quite weak, and it is only in very recent years that it has even begun to come into its own as a modern form. Although publishing in Malay can be traced back as far as 1800,[177] it was not until several years after World War II that any significant amount of creative literature in any form was produced. Prior to that time, the emphasis was primarily on religious literature and Malay classics, translated textbooks for school children, and, in the latter years, Malay nationalist literature. Modern Malay literature is still underdeveloped and, given its relatively limited market, is not likely to blossom forth too spectacularly in the foreseeable future. By the same token, however, only limited quantities of literature are available for import from elsewhere, the main sources currently being Indonesia and Egypt, and therefore a market for Malaysia-oriented materials in Malay is certain to grow. At present, most writing is done on an avocational basis, and a large proportion of the fiction produced appears in serialized form in newspapers rather than in separate volumes. The market for non-fiction has been small -- due probably to the higher rate of literacy in English among Malay readers of non-fiction -- but is quite certain

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[177] Kho Lian Tie, "Publishing in Singapore," Majallah Perpustakaan Singapura, Vol. 3, No. 1, April 1963, p. 3.

to grow with time as Malay comes to be used increasingly as the national language.

Printing of materials in the Jawi script presents considerable problems which are avoided when the Rumi script is employed, and it is at least partially for this reason that Rumi is currently used much more widely than is Jawi.[178] In fact, due to the use of the same Roman script by both Malay and English, nearly all major publishers in Malaya and Singapore publish in at least these two languages. The incorporation of Jawi, Chinese, or Tamil publishing involves significant problems of translation and expansion of printing facilities, and consequently multiple publishing capacities involving these scripts and languages are much less frequent. In Singapore, for example, of the 18 larger, well-established private publishers in 1963, four (including the University of Singapore Press and the Nanyang University Press) published in Chinese as well as English and Malay, nine published in English and Malay, only two published in English and Chinese, two published exclusively in Chinese, and one published exclusively in Malay. No one -- with the exception of the Government Printing Office (which will be considered separately later in this report) -- published in all four languages, and none of these larger, older publishers published exclusively in English.[179] In nearly all instances those firms which published in Malay in addition to some other language did so exclusively in the Rumi script.

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[178] Another reason, of course, is that Rumi can reach a much wider audience, including non-Malays -- the "new Malay literates" whose numbers have been growing rapidly since the adoption of Malay as the national language.

[179] It is of interest to compare these 18 larger, older firms with the 17 small (e.g., less than ten titles published) or newer (e.g., less than one year) firms which were in operation at the same time. Of these, only one claimed to publish in the three languages, four published in Malay and English and four each published exclusively in Malay, English, and Chinese, respectively. There were at that time no Tamil publishers except the Government Printing Office Kho Lian Tie, "Publishing in Singapore," loc. cit., pp. 9-12.

English, of course, has a much stronger literary tradition, but it is not one which is indigenous to the area. Nonetheless, as a result of long British colonial domination, English is well entrenched as the language of the economic, social, and political elites and of the intelligentsia, and publishing in English is similarly entrenched as a result of the colonial experience. At the same time, however, an almost unlimited supply of printed material of all descriptions is available for import, and as a consequence local publishing in English has necessarily concentrated primarily on materials of local relevance, and in particular on school textbooks and on non-fiction dealing with contemporary developments within the region which are intended at least partially for external consumption. This is particularly the case with much government or political literature and with all of the academically oriented journals. In this sense, publishing in English is more highly attuned to internal markets and standards than is publishing in any of the other languages. The amount of fiction published locally does not appear to be very large: rather, authors writing fiction in English would seem more inclined to go elsewhere for their publishers.

Publishing in Chinese is a relatively new facet of the industry, and before approximately 1952 was restricted almost exclusively to newspapers. Prior to that time all books including all school textbooks, printed in Chinese, had been imported, and even as late as 1965 the only extensive local book publishing in Chinese was overwhelmingly concerned with producing school textbooks. Of the ten Chinese language publishers in Singapore in 1963, for example, all but one specialized in textbooks, and the one maverick was a small, recently established firm which was actively attempting to promote creative writing by local Chinese. There does not appear to have yet developed any strong trend toward a literary upsurge by the local Chinese, however, and the majority of materials published in Chinese were either in the genre of tabloids and entertainment magazines, or were educational/indoctrinational publications generated by the government or locally oriented trade, labor, commercial, or political organs.

Not only were vast quantities of Chinese language publications imported

into Malaya and Singapore (nearly two-thirds of the total imports; see Table III-18 below) but much of the printing of locally published materials was also done outside the country -- in Hongkong or Japan, where printing presses for the ideographic script were better equipped and production costs were lower. These factors have hampered the development of a stronger, more dynamic local Chinese publishing industry.

Tamil publishing in the region is almost nonexistent, and an overwhelming majority of the literature available in Malay and Singapore is imported from India. The development of a local Indian literary tradition has been very slow and very limited, and is greatly hampered by low-priced competition from India and by the acute economic problems involved in attempting to successfully publish materials in a language which only a very small proportion of the population can or will read.

Periodical Publications

The periodical publications which are published in Malaya and Singapore vary widely in their frequency of appearance, their quality, and their content. The lower range of this scale can perhaps best be illustrated by reference to the tabloids and the mosquito press. The tabloids, of which two or three usually somehow manage to be functioning in Singapore (and a comparable number in Kuala Lumpur ?) at any time, normally consist of four pages devoted almost exclusively to printing winning lottery numbers and horse racing results. They contain no news whatever, but nonetheless affect the sales of other, more balanced, "newspapers" whenever they do appear, which, though sporadically, is usually on racing days. Similarly, the "mosquito press" is a uniquely Chinese phenomenon which reportedly has its raison d'être in publishing exposés of indiscretions (some real and some imagined) by local public figures. The "mosquito press" apparently was given that name because "they come and they go and they sting."[180] As the description implies, the

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[180] P. Lim Pui Huen, "Malaysian Newspapers Currently Published," Perpustakaan Malaysia, vol. 1, no. 1, June 1965, p. 57.

"mosquito press" has been a very irregular phenomenon: appearing only spasmodically, such papers have a notoriously short life span, and the impression has been that they are a species soon to become extinct. Responsible journalism and publishing in the area will not mourn their passing.

Leaving aside certain of the established academic journals, most of which have no mass appeal and do not circulate on the open local market, the opposite end of this spectrum of periodical publications probably would be occupied, at least in the English language stream, by the monthly Her World, the largest circulation news and entertainment periodical in the region and by the Straits Times Annual, a yearly general information and entertainment volume. Over the years these periodicals, both of which are published by the Straits Times group, have been of consistently high quality in their printing as well as in their content.

The middle ground of locally published periodicals is occupied by a wide range of magazines and journals which variously cater to trade and commercial interests, student interests, or -- most frequently the mass interest in entertainment: film, radio or TV gossip/news, and serials. The common linkage which most of these publications seem to have with one another is that they all are subjected to financial and other pressures, and tend to have somewhat sporadic and temporary existences.[181]

The scope of the upper end of this range of publishing is partially reflected in the following table, which summarizes available data on the major non-official periodical publications in Malaya and Singapore in 1965. Due to their ephemeral nature, an attempt has been made to exclude from this list those publications which do not appear to have any established existence.

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[181] Area Handbook..., p. 403.

Table III-10

Major Non-official Periodical Publications: Malaya and Singapore, 1965

Name & Language	Frequency	Published in/Publisher Date Established	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
I. Malay Language						
Angkatan Baru (Rumi)	weekly	Kuala Lumpur	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
Akhbar Pelajar	n.a.	n.a.	student magazine	n.a.	n.a.	
Berita Mingguan (Rumi)	weekly	Kuala Lumpur	news and entertainment	10,000	(1200)12%	(8800)88%
Guru	monthly	Jelutong (Fed. of Malay Teacher's Union) 1924	teachers' journal	10,000	10%	90%
Hiboran	weekly	Singapore 1946 Omar bin Ally	n.a.	5,000	100%	
Menchana	monthly	Singapore 1946	n.a.	10,000	100%	
Mastika	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Melan Abdullah)	n.a.	12,000		100%
Mastika	monthly	Singapore	n.a.	10,000	100%	
Pengasoh	monthly	Kota Bahru 1925 (Hasan Haji Muhammed)	n.a.	12,000		100%
Suara Kesatuan	weekly	n.a. (National Union of Plantation Workers)	trade union journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Suara Malaysia	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
Utusan Film & Sports	weekly	Kuala Lumpur	entertainment	n.a.	n.a.	
Utusan Pemuda	weekly	Singapore 1960	general interest for young people	15,000	Singapore	

Table III-10 (cont.)

Name & Language	Frequency	Published in/Publisher Date Established	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
II. English Language						
Demos	n.a.	Singapore 1964	Organ of Democratic Socialist Club, Univ. of Singapore	n.a.		n.a.
Her World	monthly	Singapore & Kuala Lumpur 1959 (Straits Times)	women's entertainment	20,000		n.a.
Intisari	monthly	Singapore 1962 (Malay Sociological Research Institute)	intellectual	n.a.		n.a.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Malayan Branch)	irregular	n.a.	academic	n.a.		n.a.
Journal of Southeast Asian History	twice annually	Singapore (Univ. of Singapore)	academic	1,700		n.a. (external)
Journal of Tropical Geography	twice annually	Singapore (Univ. of Singapore)	academic	1,000		n.a. (external)
Kajian Ekonomi	twice annually	n.a.	academic	500		n.a.
Malacca Mirror	weekly	Malacca	news & entertainment	n.a.		n.a.
Malay Law Review	weekly	n.a.	professional	1,000		n.a.
Malayan Economic Review	quarterly	Singapore (Univ. of Singapore)	academic	1,000		n.a. (external)
Malayan Law Journal	monthly	n.a.	professional	n.a.		n.a.
Malayan Nature Journal	n.a.	Kuala Lumpur (Malayan Nature Society) 1940	n.a.	900		n.a.
Malaysian Sports Illustrated	quarterly	n.a.	entertainment	10,000		n.a.
Planter	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Incorporated Society of Planters) 1919	trade journal	1,500		n.a. (mostly Malaya)

Table III-10 (cont.)

Name & Language	Frequency	Published in/Publisher Date Established	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
II. English Language (cont.)						
Singapore Medical Journal	quarterly	Singapore (Clemenceau House)	trade journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Singapore Trade & Industry	monthly	Singapore	commercial	3.500	n.a. (mostly Singapore)	
Straits Budget	weekly	Both Kuala Lumpur & Singapore (Straits Times) 1946	news weekly	1,000	n.a. (mostly outside country: primarily to U.K.)	
Straits Times Annual	annually	n.a. (Straits Times) 1935	entertainment and general information	n.a.	n.a.	
Straits Times Directory of Malaysia	annually	n.a. (Straits Times Press)	commercial directory	n.a.	n.a.	
Straits Times Radio Weekly	weekly	Singapore (Straits Times Press) 1952	entertainment	11,000-15,000	n.a. (Singapore)	
Student Tribune	n.a.	Singapore	student journal	n.a	n.a.	
Union Herald	weekly	n.a. (National Union of Plantation Workers)	trade union journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Who's Who in Malaysia	annually (or less frequently)	n.a. (Victor Morais)	general biographical information	4,700	n.a.	
Young Malayans	fortnightly	Kuala Lumpur (Richard Sidney) 1946	n.a.	12,000-13,000	n.a.	

Table III-10 (cont.)

Name & Language	Frequency	Published in/Publisher Date Established	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
III. Chinese Language						
Kong Hwi Sing Pan	weekly	n.a. (National Union of Plantation Workers	trade union journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Malayan Mercantile Guardian	weekly	Singapore 1960	trade & commercial	n.a.	n.a.	
Malayan Standard	n.a.	Singapore	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
Nanyang Radio Weekly	weekly	n.a.	entertainment	20,000	n.a.	
Saturday Review	weekly	Singapore 1949	entertainment; gen. information	9,495	n.a.	
TV and Radio Magazine	fort-nightly	n.a.	entertainment	20,000	n.a.	
IV. Indian Languages						
Malainandu	weekly	Sungei Siput, Perak	caters to estate workers' interests	n.a.	n.a.	
Sangamani	weekly	n.a. (National Union of Plantation Workers)	trade union journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Sevika	weekly	Penang (T.S. Kanagasundiam) 1945	caters to estate workers' interests	2,500	Penang	100% & N. Malaya
Solai	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Solai & Co.) n.a.	n.a.	2,000	n.a.	
Tamil Sakthi	weekly	Penang	entertainment; general information	2,000	Penang	100% & N. Malaya

It is of interest to note the differences in emphasis among periodicals according to their language of publication. While Malay stream publications generally emphasize mass entertainment -- serialized stories, human interest gossip, and relatively unsophisticated "information" -- they also reach across a wide range of items of community interest. Due to the relative lack of outside sources for periodical literature printed in Malay, the local press has had to generate materials to serve the entire spectrum of Malay readership requirements.[182] A similar situation does not prevail to such a degree within the other language streams, and particularly not in the English language stream, which has at its disposal an almost limitless range of periodical materials which can be, and are, easily imported and distributed. The result in the English language stream, and to a lesser extent in the Chinese language stream, has been the movement of the local publishing industry away from general interest and entertainment periodicals and toward more specialized -- often academic or professional-- journals. In the Indian language stream, on the other hand, the limited numbers of readers involved (due both to the small absolute numbers of Indians in the region combined with the fact that a large proportion of them -- especially in the urban area -- have taken their education exclusively in the English language stream and therefore do not read Tamil) and the ready accessibility of large quantities of inexpensive reading materials from India together have combined to cause a non-development of Tamil publishing. No Tamil publishing was being done in Singapore in 1965, and the overwhelming majority of it in Malaya was geared exclusively for the localized and parochial interests of the Indian estate workers, especially in the northwestern quarter of the country.

Any meaningful statistical breakdown by either circulation or readership of locally produced periodical literature is impossible at this time due to the inadequacy of the available data. In fact, the data which

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[182] The extent to which this causes a comparative parochialization of outlook within the Malay reading community must remain a matter for speculation at this time.

(see above, p. 102). Similarly, the figure of 580 periodical copies/1000 persons/annum should not be given any significance due to two complicating factors: (1) a certain number of these periodicals, especially the academic journals, are primarily exported, and (2) vast quantities of other periodical literature is imported. The effects of these factors cannot be accurately assessed at this time.

It should also be noted that the materials presented in the two preceding tables and related text would appear to encompass both privately owned and government publishing, although this is never made explicit.

A similar paucity of data exists regarding readership patterns for locally produced periodicals. In the absence of any other information, the following suggestions, pertaining only to Singapore as of 1964, will have to serve as an interim (and obviously totally inadequate) guideline:[187]

> ...Chinese magazines offering light reading and serial stories are the most popular, followed closely by the movie magazines. Both types offer many pictures, primarily of pretty girls, folklore stories and songs, cartoons, poems, "inside" stories on the life of movie stars and singers, sports news, and serials. Annual magazines published by various guilds and schools have limited circulation; religious magazines cater to their own religious audiences. A considerable supply of magazines published in Peking and Djakarta continues to be smuggled into Singapore.

Government Publishing

While most of the newspapers and much of the rest of the publishing industry in Malaya and Singapore is privately owned, many periodicals and significant amounts of other literature are published by the state and federal governments. In fact, the largest single publishing houses in both areas are the Government Printing Offices, and the Government and in

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[187] Area Handbook..., p. 399.

particular its Information Services -- provides over half of all the weekly, fortnightly, monthly, and quarterly periodicals which are published in the region.[188] The Government Printing Offices also are the only ones which publish in all four of the major languages, although, as might be anticipated, not all of their documents are issued in all languages due to the prohibitive cost of translation and duplication. In Singapore, for example, the government gazette, Hansards, and reports of the special commissions are issued in Egnlish only, whereas informative material and school syllabuses are issued in all four official languages. Other documents are issued in languages as determined by their message content and their intended primary audiences. These materials range from such scholarly works as Gerald Hawkins' Malaya and M.W.F. Tweedie's The Snakes of Malaya, to such general use documents as the annual Year Book and the Singapore Street Directory, to educational materials, to statistical data, and to such propaganda as white papers or reprints of speeches by various government leaders.

The following table lists the major government (and non-official or quasi-official political) periodical publications which were being published in Malaya and Singapore in 1965. In all the government periodicals, the emphasis is on information, education and indoctrination -- to the exclusion of entertainment.

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[188] Area Handbook..., p. 399.

Table III-13

Major Government or Political Periodical Publications: Malaya and Singapore, 1965

Name & Language	Frequency	Published In/By	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
I. Malay Language						
Bersatu	irregular	Singapore	UMNO (?) party organ	n.a.		n.a.
Malaya Merdaka (Jawi)	fortnightly	Kuala Lumpur	UMNO party journal	n.a.		n.a.
Malaya Today	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Information Service)	official	n.a. (published in all four languages)		n.a.
Negara	fortnightly	n.a.	Negara Party journal	n.a.		n.a.
Panduan Ra'ayat	weekly	Kuala Lumpur (Information Service)	official	65,000		n.a. (mostly Malaya, for Kampong Malays)
Suara Umno	n.a.	Johore Bahru (Syed Ja'affer bin Hassan Abbar)	UMNO Party organ	1,500		n.a.
The Mirror	weekly	Singapore (Ministry of Culture)	official news digest	Published in all four languages with a total circulation of 50,000		n.a. (Singapore & externally worldwide)
II. English Language						
Alliance	n.a.	n.a.	Alliance Party journal	n.a.		n.a.
Annual Reports of Gov't Ministries & Departments	annually	Both Kuala Lumpur & Singapore (relevant ministries and departments)	official	Average of approx. 2,000 each		n.a.
Malaya External Trade Statistics	monthly	Singapore (Department of Statistics)	official	n.a.		n.a.
Malayan Agricultural Journal Quarterly	quarterly	Kuala Lumpur (Ministry of Agriculture)	official	n.a.		n.a. (mostly Malaya)

Table III-13 (cont.)

Name & Language	Frequency	Published In/By	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Distribution Malaya
II. English Language (cont.)						
Malaya Today (see above in Malay Language section)						
Malayan Forester	n.a.	Kuala Lumpur (Ministry of Agriculture)	official	n.a.	n.a. (mostly Malaya)	
Malayan Government Gazette	fortnightly	Kuala Lumpur	official	2,000	n.a. (mostly Malaya)	
Malayan Mirror	fortnightly	Kuala Lumpur	M.C.A. Party journal	n.a.	n.a.	
Malaysia Official Year Book	annually	Kuala Lumpur	official	15,000	n.a. (worldwide)	
Malaysia Quarterly Statistics of External Trade	quarterly	Kuala Lumpur	official	2,000	n.a.	
Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the States of Malaya	monthly	Kuala Lumpur	official	2,000	n.a.	
Pembanguan (Development)	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Information Service)	official	n.a.	n.a. (mostly Malaya)	
Quarterly Development Progress Statistics, States of Malaya	quarterly	Kuala Lumpur	official	2,000	n.a. (mostly Malaya)	
Rural News	fortnightly	Singapore	official	n.a.	100% (for rural Singaporians)	
Singapore Government Gazette	weekly	Singapore	official	1,500	n.a. (mostly Singapore)	
Singapore Monthly Digest of Statistics	monthly	Singapore	official	2,000	n.a.	
States of Malaya Monthly Digest of External Trade	monthly	Kuala Lumpur	official	n.a.	n.a.	
The Guardian	n.a.	n.a.	party organ	n.a.	n.a.	
The Mirror (see above in Malay Language section)						
The People	n.a.	Singapore	party organ	n.a.	n.a.	
The Rocket	n.a.	n.a.	party organ	n.a.	n.a.	

Table III-13 (cont.)

Name & Language	Frequency	Published In/By	Type	Circulation	Distribution Singapore	Malaya
III. Chinese Language						
Chen Hsien Pao	weekly	Singapore	Barisan Socialist Party organ	n.a.	n.a.	
Farmer's News	fortnightly	Kuala Lumpur (Information Service)	official	50,000	n.a. (mostly Malaya, for rural Chinese, esp. in new villages)	
Fung Sia	n.a.	Singapore	official	3,000	n.a. (mostly Singapore)	
Malaya Today (see above in Malay Language section)						
Petir	fortnightly	Singapore	PAP Party Journal	10,000	95%	5%
Sin Lu Pao	monthly	Kuala Lumpur (Psychological Warfare Section)	official	50,000 (with an English edition of 3,200)	n.a.	
The Mirror (see above in Malay Language section)						
The Plebian	irregular	Singapore	party organ	n.a.	n.a.	
IV. Indian Languages						
Janobahari	weekly	Kuala Lumpur (Information Service)	official	25,000	n.a. (mostly Malaya, for Indian estate workers)	
Malaya Today (see above in Malay Language section)						
The Mirror (see above in Malay Language section)						

In addition to the regular periodic official publications, listed above, the governments of the two areas conduct an active ad hoc publication program of posters, booklets, photographs, pamphlets, wall charts, and reference papers. And in eleven states of Malaya a similar publication program on a lesser scale is carried out by the respective state information offices, particularly to publicize such government activities as elections, registration programs, and road safety or public health campaigns. While most work at this local level is carried out through the spoken word by Mobile Units and their staff, local materials are utilized where needed to

supplement materials distributed from Kuala Lumpur. In Singapore, similar publication programs to "provide essential information on the nation's policies and activities, and to guide and encourage our people in cultural, intellectual, and other pursuits"[189] include maintenance of several hundred photo boxes and display boards in markets, government offices, bus shelters, and coffee shops which regularly feature posters, photographs, and public announcements.

Non-periodical Publishing

Prior to World War II, the only significant book publishing in Malaya and Singapore was in the Malay language and, to a much lesser extent, in English. Malay language publishing consisted mainly of school textbooks (which were mostly translations of English textbooks), versions of Malay classics, and religious literature. Throughout the 19th century all such materials were printed exclusively in the Jawi script, which began gradually to be displaced by the Rumi script beginning in about 1900.[190] Locally written Malay fiction did not, until very recently, ever find its way into book form, but rather normally appeared in serialized form in the Malay language stream newspapers, a tradition which is continued to the present day.

The first English language publishing was exclusively Christian literature for missionary purposes, but subsequently expanded (in the early 20th century) to include the producation of Malay grammars and dictionaries and, ultimately, the early books on Malay language and literature, dictionaries, and translations of the Malay classics which were written by European missionaries and civil servants.

There was no Chinese language book publishing in Malaya or Singapore until several years after World War II. Prior to that time, Chinese schools

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[189] Singapore Yearbook, 1965, p. 205.

[190] Kho Lian Tie, "Publishing in Singapore," Loc. Cit., p. 5.

were autonomous private enterprises financially supported by the Chinese community, and were entirely oriented toward the educational system in China. As a consequence, all teachers as well as textbooks were imported from that country. All other books in Chinese were similarly imported from China. And essentially the same factors contributed to the absence of any book publishing in any Indian language during this period.

Book publishing continued in this comparatively moribund state until approximately 1952, when the government effected a number of basic changes in the educational structure. The revised structure, which called for far-reaching moves toward centralization, stimulated a new school syllabus which in turn required new textbooks with a "Malayan outlook".[191] This single fact, when combined with the mild economic boom Malaya and Singapore were then enjoying as a result of the Korean War, provided book publishing of the region with its greatest boost. The resulting incentives in the general field of education -- and especially textbook publishing -- have carried over to the present day, and fully 40 percent of all books published in Malaya (and 25 percent of those published in Singapore) in 1966 were school books published in conformity with the official school syllabus. The following table summarizes data on the numbers of school and children's books which were published in Malaya and Singapore in 1966.[192]

Table III-14

School and Children's Books Published: Malaya and Singapore, 1966[193]

Type	Malaya			Singapore		
	Books	Pamphlets	Total	Books	Pamphlets	Total
School Books						
Titles	135	156	291	37	3	40
Copies	1,082,000	1,675,000	2,756,000	384,000	36,000	420,000
Children's Books						
Titles	11	25	36	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Copies	33,000	92,000	125,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

[191] Ibid., p. 7.

[192] Data for 1965 are not available but, as will be seen in the next table, the total number of books published in 1966 was somewhat lower than that in 1965. Consequently, it can probably be assumed that more school and children's books were also published in 1965 than in 1966.

[193] Adapted from UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1967, pp. 422-423.

In addition to school books, which presumably comprise only those which fit the standard syllabus for, at most, the first 12 years of schooling, a significant proportion of all other books published in Malaya and Singapore are of a general educational or academic nature. This is quite clearly shown to be the case in the following table, which summarizes data on all books and pamphlets (major titles) published in 1965 and 1966. In 1966, major titles were subdivided into books and pamphlets for the first time in published statistical compilations, and as a consequence these 1966 data are included here for comparative purposes.

Table III-15

Titles Published by Type: Malaya and Singapore, 1965 and 1966[194]

Type of Publication	Malaya				Singapore			
	1965	1966			1965	1966		
		Books	Pamphlets	Total		Books	Pamphlets	Total
General	2	(40)	(64)	104	2	(1)	(-)	1
Philosophy	8	(6)	(10)	16	-	(2)	(-)	2
Religion	102	(25)	(15)	40	31	(8)	(1)	9
Social Science	203	(34)	(33)	67	41	(13)	(6)	19
Philology	106	(42)	(49)	91	27	(29)	(1)	30
Pure Science	84	(48)	(40)	88	11	(17)	(1)	18
Aplied Science	29	(3)	(63)	66	20	(8)	(1)	9
Arts	18	(1)	(1)	2	9	(7)	(2)	9
Literature	143	(56)	(139)	195	34	(33)	(5)	38
Geography	123	(39)	(16)	55	33	(20)	(3)	23
TOTAL	898	(294)	(430)	724	208	(138)	(20)	158

[194]Adapted from UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1967, p. 390.

With respect to the preceding table, it should be noted that editions of locally published books are relatively small, and seldom exceed 5,000 copies. The average edition is reported to be about 3,000 copies, except for some school textbooks which have amounted to as many as 20,000.[195] Most of the books in the Malay stream are less than 100 pages long, and those in the English stream probably average slightly more than 100 pages.

As has been shown to be the case with other facets of the publishing industry in Malaya and Singapore, the emphasis in books published varies according to language stream. Modern Malay literary forms are not yet well developed and most creative writing in Malay is done on a part-time or avocational basis: the resulting fiction consists primarily of love stories and detective stories. Non-fiction writing in Malay deals mostly with Malaya-oriented history, politics, and language, although a market for translations -- for example, some of Shakespeare's plays, works by Ernest Hemingway and Mark Twain, and children's books -- seems to be developing.[196] Publishing in English is almost exclusively in the textbook and general educational/academic field, again with an emphasis on Malaya-oriented history, politics, and language and with a secondary emphasis on travelogue-oriented expositions on local peoples, customs, and arts. With minor exceptions, Chinese publishing concentrates on providing materials appropriately oriented toward Malaysia for primary and secondary schools. These exceptions, which represent a new direction for local Chinese publishing, are attempting to promote creative writing in Chinese by locally domiciled Chinese. Materials produced thus far consist primarily of small volumes of poetry, novels, and novelettes, and short stories written on an avocational basis mostly by students, teachers, and

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[195] Kho Lian Tie, "Publishing in Singapore," Loc. Cit., p. 5.

[196] Ibid., p. 5.

an occasional clerk or civil servant.[197] Local publishing in Tamil is practically nonexistent, and consists almost exclusively of satisfying the comparatively modest demand for school textbooks. There are reported to be no local creative writers of any standing, and the demand for Tamil fiction is easily met by inexpensive editions of books by well-established authors in India, whose works are easily imported. The only significant creative writing done by local Indian authors focuses on the Indian festivals of Malaya and Singapore, and a number of small booklets have been published by the one Indian publisher in Kuala Lumpur.

The following table summarizes partial data on the number of titles published in each language stream in Malaya and Singapore in 1966.

Table III-16

Titles Published, by Language: Malaya and Singapore, 1966[198]

Language	Malaya		Singapore	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Malay	314	56	36	38.5
English	83	15	59	47
Chinese	134	24	22	17.5
Tamil	15	2.5	-	-
Other	14	2.5	-	-
Multi-languages	2	-	9	7
TOTAL	562 (partial)		126 (partial)	
		100		100

Although local book publishing has experienced considerable growth since approximately 1952, it was still a very small and underdeveloped industry as late as 1963. At least this observation appears to

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[197] Kho Lian Tee, "Publishing in Singapore," Loc. Cit. p.7

[198] UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1967, pp. 394-345.

be suggested by the following table, which compares the 1959-1963 average number of books published annually with averages for the other countries of Asia, and especially of Southeast Asia. It should be remembered in interpreting these data that book publishing figures for Malaya and Singapore in 1965 and 1966 were considerably in excess of the averages presented here (see Table III-15, above), which would seem to indicate a considerable further expansion.

Table III-17

Books Published: Countries of Asia, 1959-1963 Averages[199]

Country	Average Titles Published, 1959-1963
Malaya	338
Singapore	237
Afghanistan	60
Burma	603
Cambodia	203
Ceylon	1,969
Indonesia	869
Iran	569
Philippines	153
Thailand	1,397
Vietnam	1,515

Imported Publications

The great majority of the books, as well as significant percentages of the periodicals, sold in Malaya and Singapore continue to be imported. All large English and American publishing houses have representatives or agents in Singapore, as do many other publishers from other

[199] Adapted from UNESCO Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, #47, "Books for the Developing Countries: Asia, Africa," 1965, p. 5.

areas of the world, and nearly all materials are imported into Singapore prior to redistribution throughout Malaya. This preponderance of imported materials has provided keen competition to local publishing, and must be considered as a dominant factor in the limited development, except in the educational field, of the industry.

With the following important exception, there are no restrictions on the imports of books and other printed materials. In line with government policy of scrutinizing all modes of the mass media, all imported publications are required, under the Undesirable Publications Act, to be examined on arrival, and those found to be undesirable or prejudicial to the public interest are detained and refused entry. Materials from different areas are examined differently, and in 1964 and 1965 in Singapore all imported Chinese publications were examined, those in English were examined selectively (with "special attention being paid to those which were likely to be morally undesirable"[200]), and those in Tamil, Malay, or Indonesian were examined on a much more casually selective basis. Of 69,898 samples in Chinese representing 42,319,237 copies imported into Singapore in 1965, 3,366 samples representing 65,848 copies were refused entry; of 1,742 samples representing 148,500 copies in English in 1965, 219 samples representing 1,609 copies were refused entry; of 383 samples representing 14,012 copies in Tamil in 1967, 8 samples representing 8 copies were disallowed; and of 2,057 samples representing 13,883 copies in Malay or Indonesian in 1967, 3 samples representing 25 copies were disallowed.[201]

The following table presents data on the number of books imported into Malaya and Singapore in 1964. No comparable data on the imports of other printed materials are currently available to the author.[202] It is

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[200] Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 207.

[201] Singapore Year Book, 1965, p. 207, and Singapore Year Book, 1967, p. 234.

[202] It is interesting to note, however, that just under 1 per cent of all Malaya's total imports of commodities in 1960 and 1961 were books, periodicals, and other printed material. UNESCO, Books for the Developing Countries, Loc. Cit., p. 5.

known, however, that between 70 and 75 percent of all books imported in 1964 were textbooks, technical books, and other educational books.[203]

Table III-18

Import of Books: Malaya and Singapore, 1964[204]
(excluding children's books)[205]

Country of Origin	Number of Books Imported	Percentage of Total Number	Value ($US)
Australia	40,000	.3	122,000
China (Taiwan)	72,000	.6	91,000
Hong Kong	8,111,000[206]	64.2	4,341,000
India	457,000	3.6	241,000
Japan	57,000	.5	105,000
Netherlands	51,000	.4	88,000
Egypt	31,000	.2	61,000
United Kingdom	3,201,000	25.3	6,090,000
United States	587,000	4.6	1,802,000
Other Countries	35,000	.3	56,000
TOTAL	12,643,000	100.0	$12,997,000

Post Script

There would not appear to be any useful purpose to be served by attempting any formal conclusion to this report in the form of reiteration

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[203] Communications Fact Book..., p. 35.

[204] Communications Fact Book..., Table 20. Books imported by parcel post are not included and may increase these figures by 25-30 percent.

[205] In 1964, 2.2 million volumes of children's books were imported. Of these, 1.9 million were from Hong Kong.

[206] The Hong Kong imports include volumes from both mainland China and Formosa. The proportions among those are unknown.

of the materials which have been presented. The data, such as they are, must speak for themselves. The original intent of this report was to survey the available literature on the mass media structures of Malaya and Singapore as of 1965, and this, insofar as it has been possible, has now been accomplished. Quite obviously there are major gaps in the data as presented in this report, and it can only be hoped that interested persons will be able to close some of these gaps and perhaps resolve some of the inconsistencies which may exist with additional materials to which this author did not have access.

Any further conclusions which are drawn from this report must therefore remain the responsibility of those who draw them.

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ABSTRACT

A preliminary examination of the communications structure of Malaya and Singapore prior to the Singapore secession from the Federation of Malaysia in 1965, which, the author believes, effectively altered the evolution of the mass media.

Chapter I outlines the demographic, economic, geographic, ethnic, linguistic and educational characteristics of the region, especially the complex of languages and dialects peculiar to Malaysia.

Chapter II describes the development of broadcasting from amateur beginnings in 1930, through the Japanese occupation, control by the British Military Administration, the establishment of Radio Malaya and Radio Singapura, to the unification of the component stations under the umbrella of Radio Malaysia in 1963, and the subsequent split in 1965. Facilities, programs and reach of radio broadcasting as well as those of television and film, both domestic and foreign are covered.

In Chapter III the printed media are examined by language stream and an attempt is made to analyse readership, ownership, political affiliation and impact. Newspapers, periodicals, Government publications and books are all treated.

The author points out the gaps in data available to him, and expresses the hope that some of these gaps may be closed in the future and various inconsistencies may be resolved.

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